THE TRUE STORY OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

ERNEST ALFRED VIZETELLY

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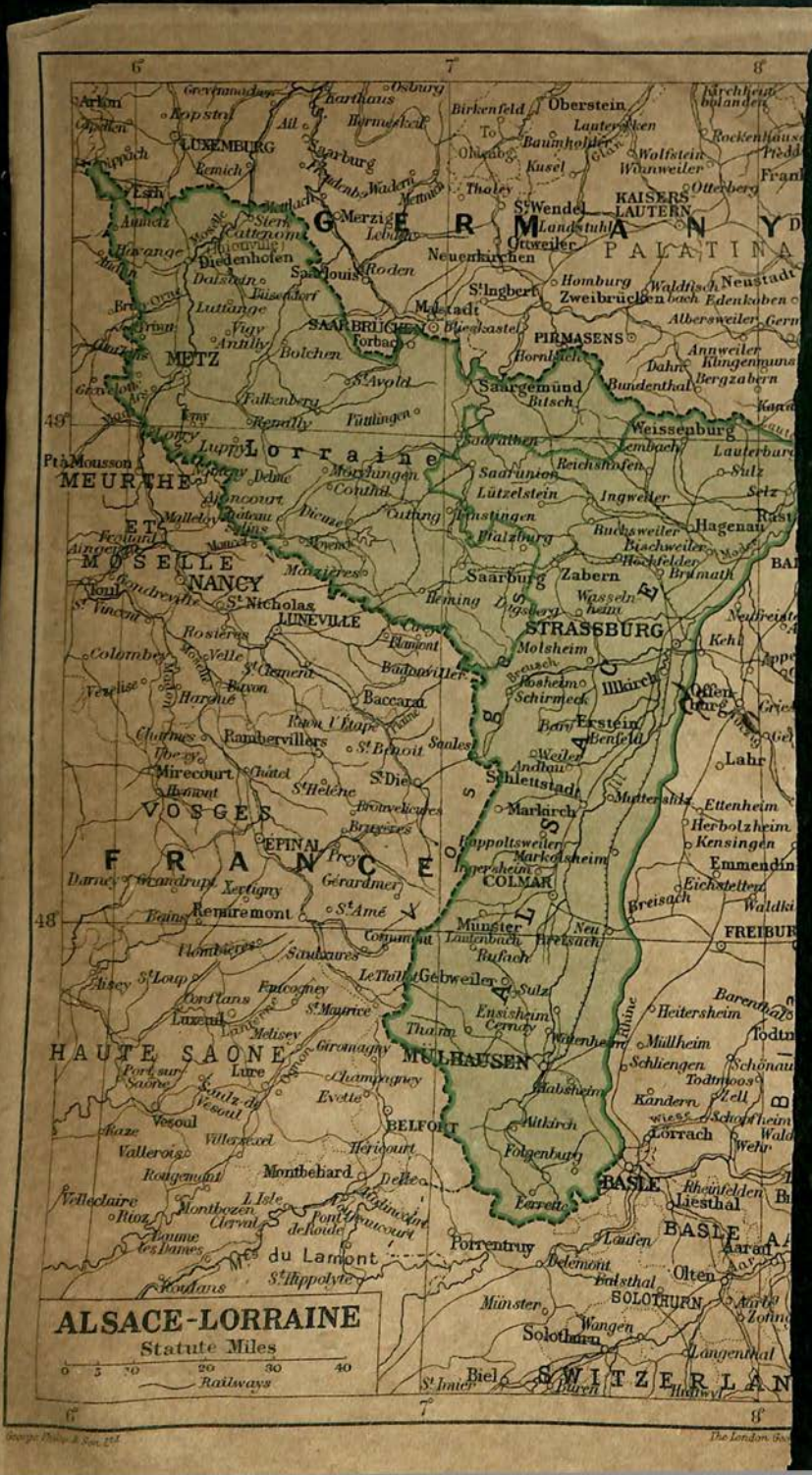
ALSACE-LORRAINE
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PALATINATE
LUXEMBURG
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Saarburg
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Saargemünd
Bitsch
Homburg
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Neustadt
Landstuhl
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THE TRUE STORY OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

BY

ERNEST ALFRED VIZETELLY
(LE PETIT HOMME ROUGE)

WITH A MAP

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LONDON
CHATTO AND WINDUS
1918

Ref
927.43044 35584

PRINTED AT THE COMPLETE PRESS
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À MES AMIS DE FRANCE

1870–1918

POST TENEBRAS SPERO LUCEM

E. A. V.

Twenty Centuries Ago

"Right and wrong being confounded, many are the wars and many the instances of wickedness throughout the world. Unpaid is the honour due to the plough, forsaken lie the fields, their husbandmen have been taken away, and the curved sickle is forged into the unbending sword. Strife is roused on one side by Euphrates, on the other by Germany. Neighbouring communities, having broken their treaties, bear arms one against the other, and Mars, to whom nothing is sacred, rages over all the world."

Virgil, *Georgics*, Bk. I

PREFACE

THE idea of writing this book occurred to me when I found, both by conversing with friends and acquaintances and by listening at odd moments to remarks passed by "men in the street," how very little is known about Alsace-Lorraine in Great Britain. The general ignorance appeared to me to be the more regrettable as my acquaintance with all the more important German utterances and writings on this subject since 1871 convinced me, already at the outset of the Great War, that whatever conditions the Allies might resolve to exact of Germany, the one which, more than any other, she would resist to her utmost would be the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine to France. Nevertheless, it was absurd for Baron von Kühlmann to assert, as he did shortly after his appointment as German Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the sole obstacle to peace was the question of Alsace-Lorraine. As our Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, replied—virtually repeating the utterances of our successive Prime Ministers, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George—we undoubtedly desire to see Alsace-Lorraine restored to France; but it is ridiculous to imagine that this one question "stands out solitary, pre-eminent, unconnected with any other of the objects of the war." "We are fighting," as Mr. Balfour said, "in order, in the first place, that Europe may be freed from the perpetual menace of the military party in Germany"; and, assuredly, if that object is to be attained, questions affecting quite a number of countries will require solution.

It is true that at one moment certain doubts arose in France as to how far her Allies might be with her in her legitimate desire to recover the territory lost in 1871; but, assuredly, those doubts have been dispelled by the important pronouncements which have emanated from Mr. Lloyd George

and President Wilson of the United States whilst this volume has been passing through the press. France, it may be pointed out, claims the unconditional restoration of the lands wrenched from her by Germany; but in Great Britain and elsewhere there has been considerable talk of consulting the present inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine by means of a plebiscitum. Quitting, for a moment, the lofty standpoint of our French friends, and taking an independent and, I trust, practical view of the matter, I have discussed this question of a plebiscitum in the concluding chapter of the present volume. As the reader will find, the conclusion at which I have arrived is that, owing to the changes which have occurred since 1871, a genuine plebiscitum is impossible. Thus, even from a lower standpoint than that of the French government, unconditional restoration seems to me to be imperative.

In the course of my work I have sketched the history of Alsace and Lorraine down to the time of the Great War. Some readers may think that I have given too much space to ancient history, but I have dealt with it at some length precisely because it is largely on ancient history that the Germans have based their claims to the territory annexed by them. For a similar reason I have touched on racial and linguistic questions, on which, indeed, I might have said a great deal more had I wished to produce a scientific treatise. What I have written respecting these matters will, I think, suffice to give the reader an adequate idea of the rival contentions of the Germans and the French.

In the historical part of my narrative I have made no attempt to conceal the fact that at the time of the Old Régime in France the government of Alsace and Lorraine was often very bad. But the reader must remember that bad government then prevailed throughout the kingdom, and was in no wise peculiar to the eastern provinces. That widespread misrule was, indeed, the *raison d'être* of the Great Revolution. But whatever occurred during the last century of the old monarchy's existence, the attachment of the Alsatians and the Lorrainers to France itself remained as steadfast as that of the folk of Picardy, Burgundy, Gascony or any other part of the country, and was exemplified in the

most striking manner throughout the wars both of the Revolution and of the First and also the Second Empire. I may add that at an early stage in the present gigantic struggle, though more than forty years had elapsed since the severance of 1871, it was officially estimated that 80,000 Alsatians were already serving with the French colours and that a score of French general officers were connected by parentage with the lost territory.

With respect to the union of Strasburg with France at the time of Louis XIV, I would direct the reader's attention to the historic document of which I give a verbatim translation in the Appendices to this volume. This document shows how the magistrates of the Alsatian capital, before accepting French sovereignty, laid down a number of specific conditions, nearly all of which were immediately accepted by the Marquis de Louvois on behalf of Louis XIV. The convention which was entered into thoroughly disproves the often-repeated German assertions respecting the "forcible seizure" of Strasburg in 1681. Elsewhere in my pages, I also relate how the little Republic of Mulhouse elected to become a part of the Republic of France. Further, I have touched on the appropriation of parts of the Sarre valley by Prussia and Bavaria in 1815, the districts in question having previously pertained to Alsace and Lorraine. Certain French aspirations with respect to those districts have been construed by some ignorant British politicians as signifying on the part of France a resolve to annex a great stretch of absolutely German territory. I can in no wise claim to speak for France on such a matter, but I take it that, even if some slight rectification of frontier in the Sarre valley should for security's sake appear advisable, the Republic's one essential claim is the restoration of the territory torn from her by Bismarck at the end of the Franco-German War.

In the map serving as a frontispiece to this volume the names of localities are given in the German forms which have been current during the last forty-seven years. Many localities never had German names before 1871. Throughout my narrative I have generally used the French ones, which are more familiar to me, and I have therefore appended to my work two alphabetical lists, which, in cases of doubt, will

help the reader to identify a number of places. With respect to the Alsatian capital I have used neither the French spelling of its name—Strasbourg—nor the German spelling —Strassburg—but have adhered to the old English practice of writing Strasburg, just as we write Brussels instead of Bruxelles, Florence instead of Firenze, and Vienna instead of Wien.

E. A. V.

LONDON, *January* 1918

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"We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in the demand they make for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without any regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire. This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and, until it is cured, healthy conditions will not have been restored."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE *to the delegates of the Trade Unions, January* 5, 1918.

"All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all."

PRESIDENT WILSON *to Congress, January* 8, 1918.

I

INTRODUCTORY : CHARACTERISTICS AND RESOURCES OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

Territories and Nationalities : Napoleon III and the Principle of Nationalities : Great Britain's Position in 1870 : Bismarck, Napoleon, and Belgium : Gladstone's Championship of Belgium : The special Treaty guaranteeing Belgian Independence : Why Britain did not support France in 1870–71 : The Cession of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany : Configuration, Characteristics, and Resources of the annexed Territory : Its Extent and its Frontiers : Its chief Waterways : Its many Railways : The Mountainous Zone of the Vosges : Chief Mountains and Forest-lands : The Zone of the Slopes : Orchards, Vineyards, and Wines : The Zone of the Plain : Characteristics of Lorraine : Chief Crops of the Reichsland : Beer : Live Stock : Salt, Coal, and Iron : Sundry Manufactures : The Alsatian Cotton Industry : Other Textiles.

SMALL States or communities have generally found it difficult, if not impossible, to prevent the encroachments of powerful neighbours. History has again and again exemplified the truth of the saying that they shall take who have the power and they shall keep who can. Broadly speaking, it was only in the nineteenth century that the principle of the independence of individual nationalities made any headway, and that mainly as a matter of theory, not one of practice. The twentieth century, however, has set itself the task, or, perhaps one ought to say, the task has been imposed upon it, of settling territorial questions according to the desires of the different populations. Real national unity has always been a plant of slow growth. Monarchs have repeatedly combined several States under their sway, but without achieving

homogeneity. Perhaps we in England were the first in Europe to attain to something of the kind in spite of the many diverse elements of our population. The English part of our island became, broadly speaking, united long before France had developed into anything like the State that she is to-day.

Joan of Arc did not merely drive us from France, she laid (in my opinion) the first foundations of French unity and patriotism. In her time, however, even when we had been constrained to abandon our conquests, "the gentle King" whom she led to Reims to be crowned and anointed in that city's then splendid fane, only exercised direct sway over a portion of the land which now constitutes the French State. The royal dominions were built up by slow degrees, either before Joan's time or afterwards, and largely with the help of matrimonial alliances, but sometimes also by conquest and cession, until at last Brittany, Burgundy, Normandy, Dauphiné, Gascony, Provence, Poitou, Languedoc, Auvergne, Navarre, Foix, Picardy, Artois, French Flanders, Lorraine, Alsace, and other provinces—all at one time independent or quasi-independent States—became part and parcel of the Kingdom of France. All that was the work of centuries, whereas in our island, after the subjugation of Wales, there remained but two rulers, two crowns, those of England and Scotland.

On the other hand, Germany, down even to our own times, remained a conglomeration of many States, often in conflict one with another and having different ambitions, different outlooks upon life. Spain, although its crowns were united by Ferdinand and Isabella, would seem, in spite of political entity, to have resisted all attempts to weld its people properly together. There are still more points of

difference between, for instance, the Catalan, the Castillian, and the Andalusian, than between the Northumbrian and the man of Wessex, or between the Picard and the French southerner. Italy, we know, remained for long centuries a land of internecine conflict under the oppressive sway of foreign or native tyrants. Austria, peopled by hostile races, has never been much more than a geographical expression, and although held together until our period by stern personal rule, seems fated, at some time or other, to fall to pieces. We English, however, with our friends the Scots and the Welsh, and, one may add, at least a very large proportion of the Irish, have become to all intents and purposes one community, and although the stress of twentieth-century life may demand certain devolutions of authority, there can be no real question of sundering us one from another.

During the nineteenth century the foremost champion of the principle of nationalities was the French Emperor Napoleon III. In certain respects he deserves to be judged severely, and I do not desire to withdraw or to qualify anything which I have written about him in former volumes of mine, but it must be put to his credit that he freed at least a part of Italy from Austrian tyranny, that he desired to free the Poles when they attempted their last great rising against the Russian autocracy, and that he also wished to intervene on behalf of Denmark against Prussia and Austria. But in regard neither to the Danes nor to the Poles could he obtain any effective support from the British Government.

Our rulers were unwilling to embark on any policy that suggested adventure. During the earlier sixties Great Britain, in the heyday of the Free Trade policy,

was waxing richer and richer. Her middle classes were growing fat, sleek, smug, and egotistical. Moreover, the German sympathies of the sovereign were notorious. Although, by reason of her sex, Queen Victoria could not reign in Hanover, she had inherited Hanoverian traditions, and was influenced far too much by her German family-connexions and interests. Our present generation is now harvesting the bitter fruit of some of the tendencies, prejudices, and mistakes of her reign.

A short time after the Franco-German War of 1870–71 the late Lord Kitchener, then quite a young man, remarked to a friend that if only 10,000 British troops had been landed in Normandy, France would not have been defeated so grievously as became the case. Kitchener's view was that British action would have had a powerful moral effect, and have encouraged the other chief Powers—Italy, Austria, and Russia—to intervene and stop the struggle. It is, however, not at all unlikely that the course which Kitchener suggested would have had a very different effect, and have proved the signal for a general European War, particularly as the Russian Tsar (Alexander II) was at that period much more inclined in favour of Germany than in favour of France.

One thing is quite certain: we were in no position to give any really effective help to the French. In 1870 we were suffering from commercial depression. Cotton was "up," owing to the shortage of supplies. Trade unions were agitating. Many joint-stock enterprises had fallen into discredit. Agrarian crime was rife in Ireland, where reform of the land laws was being planned. In England the question of elementary education had come to the front. Our naval estimates for that year—voted before the war broke

out—were lower by £1,700,000 than those of 1868–9, and lower by £750,000 than those of 1869–70. Since 1859 never had they been so low. The staffs at Woolwich, Sheerness, Portsmouth, etc., had all been reduced. We had only 28 broadside ships afloat, and we could only have mustered 40 vessels of all categories, mounting altogether 550 guns. As it happened, the war proved essentially a land war, and our army estimates amounted to merely some 13 millions sterling, Cardwell, then Secretary for War, pluming himself on the fact that he had reduced those of the previous year by £1,136,000. Our total available forces amounted to 22 regiments of cavalry and 75 battalions of infantry, with some artillery and engineers. It is true that the militia establishment represented 111,000 men, and that we had 300,000 breech-loaders in store. There was also the Volunteer Force, but virtually the whole of our military organization was in the melting-pot, the abolition of the purchase of commissions and other reforms devised by Cardwell being in progress. Briefly, when war broke out between France and Germany in July 1870 we were even less ready for participation in a European conflict than we were when the present war began in August 1914.

At the outset it seemed that if we should side with either belligerent it would be with Germany rather than with France; and curiously enough—this will show that history does repeat itself—it was the question of Belgium which led our statesmen to take that view. Both Gladstone and Disraeli were in agreement on the subject, which came to the front owing to Bismarck's statements that Napoleon III had been hankering for the possession of Belgium ever since 1862. The truth appears to be that when the

German statesman prevailed on the French Emperor to remain neutral in the conflict between Prussia and Austria in 1866 he hinted that France might, with Prussia's assent, even assistance, find compensation in the direction of Belgium. Unfortunately Napoleon's ambassador, Benedetti, blundered badly, and Bismarck possessed himself of a memorandum or draft treaty on the subject which Benedetti drew up, this document being disclosed when war broke out in 1870.

Great Britain naturally became alarmed. Statesmen of all parties demanded that the neutrality of Belgium should be respected. On the last day of the parliamentary session Gladstone expressed himself in these vigorous terms:

> If Belgium should be absorbed to satisfy any greedy appetite for aggrandizement, come whence it may, the day that witnesses that absorption will hear the knell of public right and public law in Europe. Can this country quietly stand by and witness the perpetration of the direst crime staining the pages of history, and thus become a participator in the sin?

Great Britain answered that question in 1914, and is answering it still. In 1870 the King of Prussia was more reasonable and sensible than is his grandson the German ruler of to-day. A treaty was signed between Great Britain, France, and Prussia, covenanting to maintain Belgian independence and neutrality intact. And it was stipulated that if either belligerent should violate the treaty, Great Britain would combine with the other to ensure observance of it. It was further set down that this treaty should remain in force for one year after the cessation of hostilities, after which

the signatories should revert to the Quintuple Treaty of 1839.

Thus, at a time when our naval and military power was at its lowest, we contrived to save Belgium. None can say, however, what might have happened if France or Germany or both of them had refused to listen to reason. The case against Napoleon III was not in reality so black as Bismarck's artful diplomacy made it appear to be, but, naturally, the affair created no little prejudice against the French Emperor at the outset of the Franco-German War. What! The so-called Champion of Nationalities was himself harbouring evil designs against a small, weak, and inoffensive nation? It seemed monstrous! Napoleon cannot be held blameless in the matter. He had allowed himself to be ensnared by Bismarck when the latter baited him with the promise of an accession of territory at the expense of Belgium.

All who participated in the affair carried with them to their graves the real truth respecting the negotiation. But, remembering Bismarck's repeated trickery, including the falsification of the Ems telegram, the conviction deepens that Benedetti's "draft treaty" was virtually dictated by the Prussian statesman, and that the idea of the conquest of Belgium (in which Prussia was to have assisted France "with all her military and naval forces") and the contemplated purchase of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg from the King of the Netherlands, originated in the Wilhelmstrasse and not at the Tuileries, and had as its sole object the desire to keep France quiet whilst Prussia was prosecuting her designs. Benedetti's error was to commit Bismarck's suggestions to writing, and to leave that writing with him.

Whatever the truth may have been, it is at least certain that apart from Napoleon III and a few members of his immediate *entourage* nobody in France entertained the slightest desire to annex Belgium. Both sides respected the treaty which they signed with Great Britain, and although the Sedan disaster might have been averted had Marshal MacMahon's army crossed the Belgian frontier, this was not attempted—those French troops who, amidst the *débâcle*, passed into neutral territory being only fugitives, who laid down their arms.

After the fall of the Empire, British sympathy with France became aroused, and it increased steadily during the seven months of resistance in which Gambetta figured so conspicuously. Various abortive diplomatic endeavours, in which Great Britain participated, were made to bring about an armistice, but no Power attempted to succour France by force of arms. Bismarck, who was well acquainted with the state of our military organization, laughed at the idea of actual intervention on our part. It is a question whether we should have been capable at that time of a really great effort proportionate to that which we have been making since 1914. Circumstances, moreover, were—at least on the surface—very different from those prevailing at the outset of the present war. There was not the same incentive to participation in a great struggle, particularly as the Belgian question had been settled. Prussia was striding onward, undoubtedly. For the third time in six years she had embarked on war, but in 1870 it was not generally imagined that she would become a perpetual menace to the peace and the liberties of Europe. Only a few men of foresight really apprehended the far-reaching consequences of her triumph over France. The British

nation generally was opposed to participation in any foreign entanglements. The sovereign, who then undoubtedly exercised great influence on our foreign policy, was, by reason of her relationships, decidedly pro-German. Further, as I said before, young Kitchener's suggestion of trying the moral effect of landing a few thousand men in Normandy might well have resulted very differently from what he anticipated.

Thus the struggle between Germany and France continued. Gallant, desperate, but almost vain were the efforts of the French National Defence Government to stem the tide of invasion. Bazaine surrendered to the enemy the flower of the forces of France, and the chief stronghold of his native Lorraine; the Loire armies were driven back; Paris was constrained to capitulate by lack of food, and the victors imposed upon the vanquished, not only the payment of what then appeared to be a huge war indemnity (200 millions sterling), but also the cession of 5600 square miles of territory, inhabited by 1,200,000 souls. That territory was turned by the Germans into the Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine.

I propose to recount in other chapters of this volume the earlier history of the annexed country, the circumstances attending and immediately following the annexation, and the chief incidents of the German rule from 1871 to 1914. In the first place, however, I wish to give the reader some idea of the configuration, characteristics, and resources of the so-called Reichsland, such as they were at the time of the annexation, and such as they had become when war broke out in 1914.

During French rule Alsace was divided into two

departments called Upper and Lower Rhine—Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin. Both of these departments passed to Germany with the exception of the fortified town of Belfort (Haut-Rhin) and an adjacent strip of territory comprising about a hundred small communes. Lorraine—in the ninth century a kingdom stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, between the Rhine, the Vosges, the Jura, and the Alps on the east, and the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saône, and the Cevennes mountains on the west, in such wise as to include several regions which afterwards became known by other names—had gradually dwindled in old régime days to the status of a duchy, and its name applied only to four departments of modern France, those of the Meuse, the Meurthe, the Moselle, and the Vosges. Of these the Germans of 1870–71 annexed portions of the Moselle and the Meurthe (646 communes, or from a fifth to a quarter of the former duchy), so that the French were left in possession of the Meuse, the Vosges (less eighteen communes covering some 50,000 acres), and fragments of the other two departments, which they amalgamated under the name of Meurthe-et-Moselle.

The north-western frontier, that affecting Lorraine, was traced in a very arbitrary fashion, in order to give the Germans possession of important strategical positions and localities which for one or another reason they particularly coveted. For the southern half of the western frontier a more natural boundary—that of the Vosges Mountains—was found, these heights remaining mainly in the hands of the French, though the Germans possessed themselves of certain important summits, slopes, and spurs. South of Belfort, however, and as far as the Swiss frontier, an arbitrary line was drawn across the famous Trouée or Gap,

which had always been a vulnerable point of Eastern France.

Such, then, became on the western or French side the frontier of the Reichsland of Elsass-Lothringen, otherwise Alsace-Lorraine. In other respects the annexed territory retained its previous boundaries, extending on the north to (1) the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, (2) that part of Rhenish Prussia which is known as the Sarre or Saar Valley (filched from France by Prussia in 1815), and (3) the Bavarian Palatinate, in like way extended in that year. On the east the boundary remained the Rhine, skirted on the right by the Grand Duchy of Baden. On the south the short strip of frontier facing Swiss territory remained unaltered. The Germans followed the French system with respect to the chief administrative divisions of their new acquisition. The former Haut-Rhin department became Oberelsass (Upper Alsace), the Bas-Rhin Unterelsass (Lower Alsace), whilst the Meurthe and the Moselle lands were joined together and called Lothringen or Lorraine. The respective areas of the three divisions (*Bezirke* in German) were as follows: Upper Alsace, 1354 square miles; Lower Alsace, 1848 square miles; Lorraine, 2403 square miles. Altogether the annexed territory is rather more than 120 miles in length. Its least breadth, in the south, is about 22 miles; its greatest 105 miles, in the north.

Bordered on the east by the Rhine, Alsace, or rather most of it, is traversed by that river's tributary the Ill, from which it is supposed by certain writers to have derived its name, some decomposing the latter as follows: *Ell* or *Ele* = Ill; *sass* = inhabitants; these two forming the word Elsass. Others trace the name back to Alsa, which was applied to the

Ill in certain Latin documents of the tenth century. In the seventh-century Merovingian chronicle ascribed to Fredegarius the Scholastic, the land is for the first time called Alesatia, and its inhabitants are referred to as Alesaciones. In the eighth century one finds the names Elisacia and Alsazas; in the ninth, Elsazo and Elisazo are occasionally met with; in the thirteenth one comes upon Elsaz, equivalent to the modern German Elsass, whilst three hundred years later a variant, Edelsaz, appears. Briefly, the etymology of the name is obscure, but it may well have been derived from the river known in modern times as the Ill.

This river is the most important of the Rhine's Alsatian tributaries, and has for many miles an almost parallel course. It is joined by such streams as the Bruche (Bruch, Breusch), the Doller, the Thur, the Lauch, the Fecht, the Weiss, the Andlau, etc. The Moselle carries other rivers—notably the Saar or Sarre—to the Rhine. North of the Ill, moreover, the Rhine receives first the Moder, with the latter's tributary the Zorn, and afterwards the Lauter, which separates Alsace from the Bavarian Palatinate. Of the above-mentioned rivers only the Rhine and the Ill—the latter from Colmar to its junction with the Rhine—are navigable, but the minor streams tend to enhance the land's fertility and to assist its industries.

Moreover, the country is crossed by navigable canals, dating from the French régime, which created a great network of artificial waterways connecting all parts of French territory. One of these canals, that from the Rhône to the Rhine, crosses Alsace between the Ill and the Rhine (taking the same direction as those rivers) from the vicinity of Belfort to Strasburg.

The other canal, that from the Marne to the Rhine, comes from French Lorraine, and also runs to Strasburg, passing Saverne (turned into Zabern by the Germans) on its way. There is a northern offshoot of this canal extending to Saaralben.

Of course these waterways are not the only means of communication. Roads and railways have been multiplied by the Germans since the days of the annexation. Most of the railways were constructed for strategical purposes, but they have also added to the Reichsland's material prosperity. The main line from Paris to Strasburg, by way of Avricourt, meets at Strasburg a line which follows the left bank of the Rhine northward from Basle. Another links Strasburg to Wissembourg (Weissenburg). Another runs to Rothau by way of Molsheim. Another joins Haguenau to Sarreguemines, now Saargemünd. Saverne is connected by rail with Schlestadt (Schlettstadt); Schlestadt with Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch); Colmar with Brisach (Breisach) and Münster; Sulz with Guebwiller, Mulhouse with Müllheim in Baden, as well as with Cernay (now called Sennheim) and Wesserling. Nor have the French been idle in the little part of Alsace remaining to them—the Belfort territory—for since 1871 Belfort has been linked by rail with Giromagny, Montbéliard, and Delle.

As in Alsace, so on the annexed plateau of Lorraine. You find direct rail from Metz to Strasburg *via* Saverne, rail to Metz from Kaiserslautern and Neunkirchen by the alternate routes of Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, and Saargemünd, the first *via* Boulay (Bolchen), the second and the third *via* Beningen, Falkenberg, and Courcelles; whilst other lines run from Thionville (Diedenhofen) to Saargemünd, and thence to Haguenau in Alsace, besides which many short

cross-lines cover the country in virtually every direction, so that troops and *matériel* may be hurried northward, southward, westward, eastward as occasion may require. All those railways, extending to every possible point of the Reichsland (in 1914 there were 1269 miles of normal and 50 of narrow gauge), form, as it were, a great spider's web, or, as some may say, suggest the tentacles of a formidable predatory monster. At the same time, as was previously mentioned, the country has benefited by them in time of peace.

Geographers have agreed to divide Alsace into three zones: that of the Mountains—the Vosges; that of the Slopes—the last Jura and Vosgian spurs; and that of the Plain—near the Rhine. The chain of the Vosges starts from the vicinity of Belfort, and extends northward to Rhenish Bavaria. Generally speaking, its altitude decreases as it goes northward. Geologists divide the chain (whose total length is about 120 miles) into two sections of different formation—southward the "Crystalline" and northward the "Limestone" Vosges. The highest mountain, the Ballon de Guebwiller or Soulz, which is in the annexed territory, has an altitude of about 4630 feet. Next in altitude come the Hohneck (4440 feet), the Rothenbach or Rheinkopf—the French and German Staff maps differ—(about 4290 feet), and the Ballon d'Alsace (4062 feet). The name of *ballon* is given to several of these heights on account of their rounded summits. All of the above-named belong to the southern section—that is, to the Crystalline Vosges. Among the Limestone heights the highest summit is that of Mount Donon (about 3292 feet).

The three principal passes are those of the Col de Bussang, affording communication between Mulhouse

and Epinal; the Col du Bonhomme, by which you may go from Colmar to Epinal; and that of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, between Schlestadt and Saint-Dié. The Schlucht, Saales, and Saverne passes also have their importance. Of all the Vosges mountains the one whose name became the best known to British readers during the earlier period of the Great War was the Hartmannsweiler Peak, which is the last height of consequence among the Vosgian spurs in the direction of Mulhouse. There was fierce contention between the French and Germans for possession of the summit (3107 feet above sea-level), but it was eventually captured by the Chasseurs Alpins, and gave the French command of four roads and several miles of railway lines. The exploit was the more meritorious as the mountain sides are extremely abrupt and the German defences were formidable.

North of Mount Donon and between Alsace and the annexed part of Lorraine, the Vosgian chain declines rapidly to altitudes of 1700 and 1600 feet. Near Saverne it is intersected by the valley of the Zorn, beyond which it becomes a succession of slopes and rounded summits which never exceed an elevation of 1300 feet. Generally speaking, along the whole length of the chain, the steepest acclivities are on the Alsatian side. Here you find dark ravines overlooked by picturesque feudal ruins, such as are seldom seen on the French side, together with wild or charming valleys, watered by rivulets—the Doller, the Thur, the Lauch, the Lieprette, the Bruche, and so on, whose names the valleys take. The species of trees with which the mountains are so largely planted vary according to the altitude. The loftier parts are clothed with conifers of several kinds, and on the lower parts you find beech, oak, ash, birch, larch, hornbeam, chestnut,

and elm. There is good mountain pasture on many points, but the forest lands, though they diminished by 10 per cent. or so between the French Revolution and the German annexation, are still of great extent. In 1870 it was estimated that the Alsatian forests (not only in the Vosges, but in other parts also) covered nearly 730,000 acres. A return made towards the beginning of the present century showed an area of 685,000 acres in Alsace and of 412,000 acres in the annexed part of Lorraine. Since then large clearings would appear to have been effected.

The wild cherry (*merisier*) is grown extensively in the vicinity of the Vosges, its fruit being used (as in the Black Forest) for making *Kirsch*. Alsace, generally, is a land of fruits. The late oblong plum (*Prunus sebastica*) called *Quetsche* and *Zwetsche* in German, predominates in all parts of the Reichsland, there being, perhaps, some three million trees of this kind. There are also more than a million apple-trees, three-quarters of a million pear-trees (about half in Lorraine); virtually the same number of cherry-trees, nearly half a million walnut-trees, and between 30,000 and 40,000 chestnuts.

In Alsace these trees thrive mostly in what is called the Zone of the Slopes, which also includes most of the vineyard land.

Before the annexation the Alsatian vineyards covered between 60,000 and 62,000 acres, and 20,000 families were more or less interested in viticulture. To-day (return of 1913) more than 67,000 acres in the whole Reichsland (which of course includes Lorraine) are under vines. The vintage of 1913 (a bad year) yielded, however, less than 4,000,000 gallons of wine. The growths of the annexed part of Lorraine are of less importance than those of Alsace. It was

the Emperor Probus who, in the latter part of the third century, first ordered the plantation of vines in the Rhenish region, in which Alsace was included. Most of the vineyards are on the slopes below the Vosges, between Thann and Mützig. There are vines also in the Sundgau, at Kochersberg, and along the slopes of Lower Alsace as far as Wissembourg, and others again near the Ill in the neighbourhood of Colmar, and in the plain near Ochsenfeld. The best wines are those of Ribeauvillé, Riquewihr, Guebwiller, and Thann, followed by those of Neuweiler and Wolksheim, all in Upper Alsace. White wines predominate, but red are made also. In the vicinity of Colmar some vine-growers prepare what is called a *vin de paille* or "straw-wine," from the circumstance that the grapes are dried and ripened upon straw for several weeks before they are committed to the wine-press. This Colmar straw-wine enjoys considerable repute. It is on record that in the earlier part of the fourteenth century quantities of Alsatian wine were sent to England. Later there was a flourishing wine-trade with Holland. Of more recent times the Germans have either sent us Alsatian wines in their natural state as Rhenish or Moselle, or have blended them with their own growths.

The Alsatian "Slope Zone" is well populated and very fertile. In the Upper section vines and fruit-trees are abundant, whilst in the part pertaining to Lower Alsace the cultivation of cereals is more extensive. In the Zone of the Plain the subsoil near the Rhine is often gravel, but the land becomes more and more fertile in character as you gradually recede from the river. The Rhine bed is said to have formerly had a width of from 330 to as many as 1100 yards, but it has been gradually reduced by

dykes and drainage to 260 yards or thereabouts. There are still many marshy meadows and peat-beds on the Alsatian side of the river. Most of the large Alsatian towns are in the Zone of the Plain, and here the density of the population is often twice as great as in the Mountainous Zone. Cereal crops predominate, but vegetables are grown extensively, notably potatoes and cabbages, the latter being sent largely into Germany to be transformed there into *Sauerkraut*. Hops are also grown in this Zone, and tobacco is cultivated there.

The Lothringen or Lorraine section of the Reichsland offers from the agricultural standpoint less interesting features than Alsace. Most of this Lorraine land is a plateau, the highest ground being that nearest to the Vosges. In the valley of the Moselle the fruit-trees flower a fortnight earlier than on the plateau. The vine cannot be cultivated above an altitude of 1100 feet, or corn above 2600 feet, whereas in the Vosges it is grown at a height of 3000 feet and more. Thus the annexed part of Lorraine is more noted for its iron mines, smelting furnaces, metallurgical manufactures, salt pits, potteries, etc. It is watered on the west by the Moselle, which passes Metz and Thionville before entering Rhenish Prussia, and towards the east by the Sarre or Saar (Saravius), which takes its rise in the Vosges and flows northward past Sarrebourg and Sarreguemines before inclining to the north-east in order to unite with the Moselle. Across the frontier of Rhenish Prussia it is joined by the Nied, which waters the more central part of the annexed Lorraine. Another river, the Seille, takes its rise in the southern part of the annexed districts, winds for a short distance through French territory, and ultimately joins the Moselle at Metz. The valleys

and slopes near these various rivers are the most fertile parts of the Lothringen division of the annexed country.

The following tables supply some particulars respecting the crops raised in the entire Reichsland :

ACREAGE UNDER CULTIVATION

Crops	1900	1913
Hay and other fodder. . .	462,154	485,755
Wheat	385,394	342,695
Oats	274,656	282,165
Rye	116,445	138,632
Barley	132,105	122,727
Potatoes	224,345	226,790
Vines	—	67,090
Hops	9,796	10,462
Tobacco	2,810	3,842

PRODUCE IN METRIC TONS OF 2204 LB.

Crops	1900	1913
Hay and other fodder. . .	630,715	137,786 *
Wheat	228,529	238,048
Oats	155,301	209,963
Rye	68,674	92,889
Barley	92,518	108,678
Potatoes	1,135,474	1,226,463
Wine (gallons) . . .	9,173,912 †	3,934,442
Hops	38,346	15,950
Tobacco	2,897	4,878

A little supplementary information may be added to those tables. Lucern and clover figure among the crops cultivated for fodder. Industrial plants, such as colza, cameline, poppies, hemp, and flax, are grown

* Hay only. † In 1897.

in various parts. The Alsatian-Lorrainer being a beer- as well as a wine-drinker, large quantities of the former beverage are brewed. Indeed, if one may trust certain returns, the beer produced in the Reichsland in 1913 exceeded 31 million gallons. The quantity seems a large one, but it sinks almost to insignificance when one finds it stated that Bavaria brewed no less than 418 million gallons of beer in the same year. What a paradise that indicates for the devotees of Gambrinus! Thirteen years previously (1900) it is recorded that 77 breweries in Alsace-Lorraine had an output of nearly 25 million gallons, representing a value of over 1,824,000 marks or approximately £90,000. I have found no figures respecting the quantity of spirits distilled, but it was valued in 1900 at rather more than £80,000.

The cattle in Alsace-Lorraine belong largely to the Swiss and Jura breeds. The cheese of Münster near the Vosges has a reputation, but when it is placed upon the market it is usually too odoriferous and of too high a flavour to suit a palate with any pretensions to delicacy. Other cheeses are made at the many *chalets à fromage* among the high Vosgian pastures, the total output being perhaps 200 tons annually. The horses common to the Reichsland are said to be descended from an Asiatic breed. They are usually small. Formerly very hardy and vigorous in spite of their size, they appear to have been spoilt by injudicious crossings. The pigs, in which Celtic, Iberian, and English breeds are supposed to be combined, have big heads and narrow bodies. Geese are abundant in Alsace, particularly in the Rhenish districts. Virtually everybody has heard of Strasburg *pâtés de foie gras*.

There are half a dozen salt mines in the Reichsland,

the principal being those of Dieuze, Château-Salins, and Forbach. The annual output of common salt ranges from 70,000 to 77,000 metric tons, valued at a trifle less than £1 per ton. Sodium sulphate is also worked to the extent of about 8000 tons per annum. Alum is also met with. Since the annexation a mine of potassium alkaline has been found in Alsace, and has been acquired by the Prussian Government. It is estimated to be worth several millions of money. The production of sulphuric acid and other chemicals is very considerable. Petroleum wells exist at Lampertsloch, Schwabwiller, and Pechelbronn, but their output is extremely small.

There are few coal and iron mines in Alsace. The latter are much more numerous in the annexed part of Lorraine. Large quantities of coal and ore are imported, but the statistics for 1913 give—apparently as the Reichsland's own output—21,136,265 metric tons of iron ore (valued at over £2,736,000), and 3,795,932 tons of coal (value about £2,256,000). These figures are far in excess of those for 1900, when the output of coal was stated to be little more than a million tons, whilst the iron ore did not amount to quite seven millions. It is possible that the figures for 1913 include imported coal and iron. Limestone and gypsum are quarried very extensively, and according to the returns for 1913 no fewer than 38,500 persons were then employed in the mines and quarries. The metallurgical industries predominate in Lorraine. There are important forges at Ars-sur-Moselle. In Alsace one finds several works for the construction of machinery; notably at Mulhouse, Guebwiller, and Thann.

Paper is made on the Ile Napoléon near Mulhouse. Rixheim specializes in wall-papers. Faience as well

as other pottery is produced at Sarreguemines, Sierck, and Niedwiller. Glass is manufactured in the vicinity of Sarreguemines and Sarrebourg. The Munzthal crystal works take the first rank. Further, the chemical works of Bouxwiller are important. One other establishment may be mentioned before passing to the textile industries—that is the famous Piscicultural School of Huninguen on the left bank of the Rhine in Upper Alsace. Millions of salmon fry have been provided by this establishment—founded under the French régime in 1852—for the rivers of Germany, France, Sweden, and other countries.

Textiles represent in importance and value fully a third of the Reichsland industries. The cotton manufactures are the most important in the whole German Empire. Virtually all the cotton goods imported by France from Germany prior to the Great War came from Alsace, and represented, on an average, a value of about £1,120,000 annually. The first cotton-printing works to be established at Mulhouse was founded by Samuel Kœchlin in 1746, but cotton-spinning did not begin in Alsace until 1810 (in the midst of the Napoleonic wars) when mills were built at Wesserling. The calico produced at Mulhouse under the First French Empire cost from three to four francs per metre; the price of the printed cottons or *indiennes* being from six to seven francs. These printed goods became famous by reason of the variety and tastefulness of their patterns and the fastness of their excellent colours. Establishments sprang up in other localities, and in 1828 the Haut-Rhin (otherwise Upper Alsace) turned out 19,500,000 yards of these textiles. In 1870, just prior to the war which led to the annexation, the output was nearly three times as large. In 1828 the business done by

the cotton-spinners represented £600,000, which before the annexation became £3,600,000 ; whilst the printing trade increased from £1,120,000 to £2,000,000. At the outbreak of the Great War the figures were very much larger, although after the annexation in 1871 the trade suffered severely—some manufacturers removing their works to France, and others, whilst retaining their Alsatian establishments, founding additional ones on French territory.

One of the descendants of the Kœchlin whom I previously mentioned took two partners named Schmalzer and Dollfus. The last-named became a distinguished economist and did much to improve the circumstances of his workmen. In 1853 he founded at Mulhouse a Workers' Dwelling Society, and within the next twenty years a thousand houses had been erected, and for the most part completely paid for by the workmen who bought them. They were of various styles and sizes, and far superior to anything else of the kind which then existed in France. The average price of these houses (freehold) was £140, and the purchaser was required to pay £10 down and the balance by instalments in fourteen years. Carried out with integrity and great solicitude for the workers, the scheme proved so successful that similar societies were established at Colmar and Guebwiller.

The Alsatian woollen manufactures are less considerable than the cotton ones, but there are woollen as well as cotton mills at Mulhouse, which with its suburb of Dornach had a population of 105,488 inhabitants at the census of 1910. Different kinds of machinery and various chemicals are made there. Textiles and textile machinery are also produced at Guebwiller. Textiles are made also at Colmar, Türkheim, Winzenheim, Münster, and Logelbach. Cloth is

bleached, dyed, and finished in the valley of the Thur. Wesserling, Cernay, Thann, Willer, Moosch, and Saint-Amarin manufacture yarn and cloth as well as machines and chemicals. In the valley of the Lieprette, at Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines and neighbouring localities, cotton and woollen mixtures are produced. Again, there are textile manufactures at Erstein and Schlestadt; whilst at Massevaux and various villages in the valley of the Doller the manufacture of yarn and cloth is supplemented by that of chemicals and the preparation of leather.

II

CITIES, TOWNS, AND NOTED SPOTS

The Divisions of Alsace-Lorraine : Strasburg Old and New : The Cathedral and the Squares : The "Marseillaise" : Mementoes of French Rule : Haguenau and some Battlefields : Saverne and its Palace : Bouxwiller, Marmoutier, Wasselonne, and Molsheim : The Ban de la Roche and Pastor Oberlin : St. Odilia, Patroness of Alsace : The Pagan Walls : Barr and Andlau : The Legend of the Empress Ricardis : Erstein and Schlestadt : Upper Alsace : Colmar : Ribeauvillé and the King of the Musicians : Sundry small Towns : Baths for Lunatics : Marshal Lefebvre on Ancestry : Guebwiller and its Wine : Ensisheim, Thann, and Kléber : Little Towns in the Thur Valley : Democratic Mulhouse and the Chatterer's Stone : Massevaux and Catherine the Great : Altkirch and Ferrette : In annexed Lorraine : Metz Old and New : The Kaiser as Daniel : Adjacent Battlefields : Thionville : The Towns on the Sarre : Forbach and Spicheren : Niederbronn and its Waters : Brave Bitche and Phalsburg : Dieuze and Château-Salins.

It has previously been mentioned that after the war of 1870–71 the Germans allowed the chief administrative divisions of the annexed territory to remain much as they had been under the French rule, that is to say, the authorities of the new Reichsland constituted three *Bezirke*, two of them corresponding with the former Alsatian departments of the Bas-Rhin and the Haut-Rhin—which, indeed, represented in essential respects the so-called Nordgau and Sundgau of early times—and the third embracing the annexed parts of the Meurthe and Moselle departments of Lorraine. Each *Bezirk* was subdivided into several so-called *Kreise* or circles, suggestive of French *arrondissements*, the result being as follows: *First Bezirk:* Lower Alsace. *Capital:* Strasburg, which also became the

seat of government for the whole Reichsland. *Kreise:* Strasburg City and Strasburg Country, Wissembourg, Haguenau, Saverne, Molsheim, Erstein, and Schlestadt. *Second Bezirk:* Upper Alsace. *Capital:* Colmar. *Kreise:* Colmar, Ribeauvillé, Guebwiller, Thann, Mulhouse, and Altkirch. *Third Bezirk:* Lothringen or Lorraine. *Capital:* Metz. *Kreise:* Metz City and Metz Country, Thionville, Sarrebourg, Château-Salins, Boulay, Sarreguemines, and Forbach.

Strasburg, whose population increased from 70,000 to 84,000 between 1840 and 1870, was in 1910—the year of the last census—a city of 179,000 inhabitants, rather more than half of these being Catholics and the others Protestants, Freethinkers, and Jews, the last-named numbering some 5000. It would have been impossible to crowd so many people within the limits of the city's former fortifications, designed by the famous French engineer Vauban, and during the earlier years of the annexation these defences, with the exception of the southern ramparts and the citadel, were demolished by the Germans, and replaced by a new *enceinte* which doubled the city's perimeter, most of the land thus enclosed within the municipal limits lying to the north and north-east of ancient Strasburg. The new fortifications were provided with twelve gates; such of Vauban's work, including the citadel, that was allowed to remain, was more or less modernized, and fourteen outlying detached forts were erected, eleven of them being west of the River Ill and three on the east. The Ill, forming two principal and various smaller arms, intersects the city. Below the latter it is joined by the Marne to Rhine Canal, and above it by the Rhine and Rhône Canal, as well as by a tributary, the Bruch,

which is partially canalized. Further, the principal canals are united by a subsidiary *canal de ceinture*. The Rhine, into which the Ill flows, is about two and a half miles distant from the Place Kléber in the central part of old Strasburg. More than once, in the long ago, I crossed the great river—which, in its course between Germany and Alsace, bears almost countless little islands upon its bosom—by one or another of the bridges conducting to the town of Kehl in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

The new part of Strasburg is full of public edifices and private mansions erected by the Germans. Here are found the so-called Imperial Palace, the Palace of the Delegations, the German University, and the great central railway station. Some of these buildings are not displeasing to the eye. The German architects adopted the style of the French Renaissance for the principal university building, erected between 1878 and 1884, and that of the Florentine Renaissance for the Imperial Palace (1883–88). At the railway station an attempt is made to impress the traveller with a sense of the German domination by means of two large crude frescoes—one depicting Frederick Barbarossa entering Haguenau in the twelfth century, and the other the present Kaiser's grandfather entering Strasburg in 1879.

The pomposity of the new German town contrasts strongly with the picturesqueness of the ancient city, where high-gabled houses line narrow streets and cluster round little squares, whilst from the centre the spire of the renowned cathedral rises to a height of almost exactly 466 feet above the pavement.* It

* I find old accounts saying 474 feet, but this may have been a miscalculation, for I do not think that the spire was shortened during the many repairs which the cathedral underwent after the fiendish German bombardment of 1870.

thus soars to an altitude of 132 feet above the summit of Saint Paul's, and is sixteen feet higher than the principal Egyptian Pyramid. The first church raised on this site was one of clay and timber set up by the Frankish ruler Clovis. A better edifice was founded by Charlemagne, but was struck by lightning early in the eleventh century, when the present cathedral was begun. Thus a little is Romanesque though most is of the ogival style. The greater part, perhaps, dates from the thirteenth century, but only in the fifteenth were the towers, one of which bears the famous spire, erected. Long years ago I climbed to the lantern, thence to the crown, and thence to the rosette, and looked down upon the old faded tiled roofs of the city, and thence over the wonderful panorama of surrounding country—the Vosges on the west, the Rhine and the Black Forest on the east. Most of the cathedral's beautiful stained-glass windows were shattered by the bombardment of 1870; much of the general masonry and the sculpture-work which were destroyed or defaced, first during the French Revolution and later by the bombardment I have mentioned, are quite modern, as is also the roof, which the German shells perforated in many places; but, on the whole, the work of restoration has been well performed.

One of the cathedral's curiosities is a remarkable astronomical clock, the present mechanism of which dates from 1838–42, having been reconstructed in order to replace similar works of the sixteenth century, which after nearly 250 years of service absolutely refused to do any further duty. The mechanism sets quite a number of allegorical figures in motion—such, for instance, as Father Time, the Four Ages of Life, the Seven Days of the Week, the Apostles and the

Christ. At noon every day the twelve Apostles pass before Christ, bowing to Him as they go, whilst He blesses them with upraised hand, and a cock crows thrice and claps its wings. This clock luckily escaped destruction in 1870.

Another interesting church at Strasburg is that dedicated to Saint Thomas, where you may see the masterpiece of the great French sculptor Pigalle—that is, the mausoleum of Marshal Saxe, who, German though he was, entered the service of France and gained victories for her at Raucoux, Lawfeld, and Fontenoy. Pigalle, who gave five and twenty years of his life to this work, portrayed the marshal expiring serenely, whilst France, personified by a beautiful figure, strove to detain him and to ward off the threatening approach of death.

The largest of the city's squares before the annexation was the Place Kléber, where stands a bronze statue of the famous general of that name—a native of Strasburg, son of a stone-mason there, and in early life an architect—who enlisted in the armies of the first French Republic, distinguished himself in the siege of Mayence, decided the defeat of the Austrians at Fleurus, and fought against us in Egypt, where he was assassinated in the year 1800. As the sequel of this narrative will show, Kléber was only one of many Alsatians who became glorious in the service of the France they loved. In 1838 his remains were deposited in a vault under his statue, and they still lie there to-day. Another of the city's squares, the Place Gutenberg, is adorned with a statue of the famous printer, who worked at his inventions at Strasburg before perfecting them at Mayence. This fine monument, due to the French sculptor David d'Angers, depicts Gutenberg holding a " proof " which

he has just taken from his press, and which bears the words: "And there was light." *

In the sixteenth-century building where the Strasburg Chamber of Commerce meets another interesting statue may be found, one of Alsace, by Bartholdi, the Alsatian sculptor to whom France owes her Lion of Belfort and America her Liberty lighting the World. Further, in a garden on one of the Rhine islands—the Ile des Epis—a couple of miles south of the city, there is a monumental cenotaph to the memory of the valiant Desaix, who defended the passage of the river against the Austrians in 1796, helped Napoleon to gain the Battle of the Pyramids in 1798, and two years later fell on the field of Marengo at the very moment when victory was being achieved. The monument on the Ile des Epis bears in French the inscription, "To General Desaix, the Army of the Rhine, 1801," and is adorned with bas-reliefs and a medallion portrait of this famous French soldier. The Germans have done their best to desecrate this tribute to his memory by capping it with an abominable helmet. Fortunately the remains of Desaix do not lie beneath any Teutonic symbol. They were interred on the Great Saint-Bernard.

No. 4 on the Place de Broglie at Strasburg—a square laid out in 1740 by the French Marshal of that name, who distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War—is quite an historic house, for there in 1792 dwelt Baron Dietrich, Mayor of Strasburg, and there in Dietrich's drawing-room, towards the end of April that year, was sung for the first time that immortal hymn of defiance, the "Marseillaise," † which Rouget de l'Isle, then a young officer of engineers, composed

* "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light."—Genesis, i, 3.

† The aged Madame Aimable Tastu, a Lorrainer by birth (she came into the world at Metz in 1798) and a family connexion of Rouget de l'Isle,

for his comrades of the Army of the Rhine, and which was directed essentially against the Prussian and Austrian invaders of French territory. As it happened, when the revolutionaries of Marseilles marched on Paris they appropriated Rouget de l'Isle's stirring words and notes, which had been carried southward by soldiers sent to defend Toulon; and as they, the Marseillais, were the first to make the glorious hymn known in the capital, the Parisians called it the "Marseillaise," a name it has ever since retained. It was dedicated by Rouget de l'Isle to the septuagenarian Marshal Luckner, whom the Robespierrists guillotined two years afterwards for lack of energy in his old age.

There is great uncertainty respecting the quarters which De l'Isle occupied at Strasburg when he composed the "Marseillaise." Claims have been put forth on behalf of several houses, but none appears to be authentic. Many, however, are the quaint or interesting dwellings that one finds in the old city, some of them dating back to the latter part of the Middle Ages. In addition to the mementoes of the French rule to which I have referred, mention may be made of the Promenade de Contades, laid out by the Marshal Duke of that name in 1764, and of the Orangery, which owes its origin to Napoleon's first wife, the Empress Joséphine. The university, re-established in new buildings by the Germans, sprang from a Protestant school founded in the first half of

whom she well remembered (he died at Choisy-le-Roi, near Paris, in 1836, when seventy-six years old), told me in her last years that De l'Isle was composing by way of pastime sundry little pastoral and love pieces when the "Marseillaise" suddenly exploded from his brain. This statement is borne out by an early edition of his collected verses, which are mostly dated, and a copy of which exists in the British Museum library. Mme. Tastu herself wrote some very fair poetry, but was best known by her many works in prose for youthful reading. She died in 1885.

the sixteenth century. About a hundred years later this school became a university, and in 1772 Goethe took his degree as Doctor of Laws there. The Revolution suppressed the foundation, but under the last Bourbons it was revived as an Académie royale. I shall refer more particularly to the new institutions when dealing in another chapter with the efforts to Germanize Alsace since the annexation. As for the city's public library, the building and its contents were largely destroyed by the Germans in 1870. Many precious manuscripts and *incunabula* were then annihilated—among the former being the famous "Hortus Deliciarum" of the Abbess Herrade of Hohenberg, which was richly decorated with illuminations and miniatures of Byzantine style. As with the fathers, so with the sons, as witness the fate of the library of Louvain.

I have written at some length respecting Strasburg, because it is the capital of Alsace. The chief towns of the other *Kreise* directly attached to Strasburg under the German administrative system may be referred to more briefly. North of the capital city is Haguenau, a town of nearly 19,000 inhabitants, on the Moder. It was fortified by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and there is a story that our Richard Cœur de Lion appeared there before a gathering of princes while he was a prisoner of Frederick's son and successor, Henry the Cruel, to whom he had been handed over by Leopold of Austria. Haguenau's most notable building is the church of Saint-George, dating principally from the thirteenth century. Proceeding from this point in the direction of Wissembourg (Weissenburg), whose *Kreis* or circle is the most northern of Lower Alsace, one could visit, prior to the Great War, the scenes of some of the earliest

encounters between the French and Germans in 1870. Here, for instance, are Wörth, Froeschwiller, and Reichshoffen, all associated with the unfortunate defeat of MacMahon's army, which was the first really severe blow that France received. Reichshoffen, whose name recalls the famous desperate charge of the French cuirassiers,* is the largest of these localities, having 3000 inhabitants, whereas Wörth (which for us, as for the Germans, has given its name to the battle) counts but 1000, and Froeschwiller only 600. It is, however, in the church of the last-named locality that one finds the chief memorials to the men of the contending armies who fell in the great fight—an altar of black marble dedicated to the French, and one of red sandstone to the Germans.

Wissembourg, associated with the earlier defeat of Abel Douay in the same war, stands on the Lauter, at the extreme northern limit of Lower Alsace. It is a place of some 6800 souls, and possesses a fine church, which comprises a twelfth-century Romanesque tower, but is in other respects an example of early Gothic. Here in 1704–6 Marshal Villars established some famous lines which saved this part of France from invasion.

North-west of Strasburg will be found the *Kreis* or circle of Saverne, called Zabern by the Germans. This town—one of 9000 people—was the Tres Tabernæ of the Roman itineraries. It passed in the course of time to the Duchy of Lorraine, and in 1525 was seized by a multitude of rebellious peasantry, known

* The charge really took place in the vicinity of Morsbronn, which is about five and a half miles distant from Reichshoffen. A monument erected at Morsbronn in 1873 is inscribed, "Aux Cuirassiers *dits* de Reichshoffen." At Reichshoffen itself there is an obelisk to the memory of the heroic French troopers. The ironworks of this town were first established by Baron Dietrich, to whom I referred in connexion with the "Marseillaise." See p. 30, *ante*.

as the *Rustauds* or Rustics. Duke Anthony of Lorraine having besieged them, they capitulated on the understanding that their lives should be spared provided they gave up their weapons. But no sooner was this effected than the hireling German lansquenets in the Duke's pay attacked them, and cut thousands of them down whilst they attempted to escape. The Duke himself could not restrain his ferocious soldiery. Later, Saverne (which often suffered during the Thirty Years' War) passed as a lordship to the Bishops of Strasburg, who retained possession until the French Revolution. One of these prelates, Cardinal Louis de Rohan, erected here a considerable part of an imposing château or palace with monumental façades and beautiful grounds. The work was carried on by his successor, the notorious Cardinal Edouard de Rohan, who was duped and swindled by the intriguing Countess de la Motte in the affair of the famous Diamond Necklace. To-day the once sumptuous palace of Saverne is but a German barrack. The town stands at an elevation of some 600 feet above the Zorn and the Marne and Rhine Canal, on the verge of the Alsatian Plain. Behind it rise some fine wooded heights, and by reason of its beautiful situation Saverne was the favourite place of sojourn of that well-known writer, Edmond About, who was by birth a Lorrainer. Comprised within the *Kreis* of Saverne is the town of Bouxwiller (Buchsweiler), which is situated just under the Bassberg, one of the heights of the Lower Vosges. The little place derives some importance from the sulphate of iron and lignite deposits which are worked in its vicinity.

Skirting the Vosges southward from Saverne, one passes Marmoutier (Germanized as Maursmünster), a

town of 3600 people, deriving its name from an abbey which, founded originally by a disciple of the Irish Saint Colomban, subsequently pertained to the Congrégation de Saint-Maur. Farther southward is Wasselonne (now Wasselnheim), a locality of much the same size, with several quarries whence the stone for building Strasburg Cathedral was extracted. Yet more to the south and on the left bank of the Bruch, between the Alsatian vine slopes and the plain, stands Molsheim, a picturesque place of 3000 souls with a fourteenth- to sixteenth-century church, and a charming old town hall faced by a square where stands an obelisk bearing in French the inscription: "To the Children of the Town who died for the Country, 1870–71." * One needs no further evidence that the folk of Molsheim were attached to France.

On ascending the Bruch towards its source in the Vosges there will be found a picturesque and interesting little region known as the Ban de la Roche or Steintal, the former name being derived from an ancient castle called the Château de la Roche. This district was desolated during the Thirty Years' War, and in the eighteenth century the inhabitants of its eight poor villages or hamlets were plunged in the greatest ignorance and deepest misery. In 1767, however, a Protestant pastor named Jean Frédéric Oberlin, a native of Strasburg and the younger brother of a distinguished Alsatian philosopher and scholar (Jérémie Jacques Oberlin), was appointed minister at the village of Waldersbach in the Roche region. Distressed by the sight of so much misery—one knows how terrible was the condition of the peasantry throughout France during the last years of the old

* "Aux Enfants de la Ville morts pour la Patrie."

régime—Oberlin set himself to work to remedy it. Assisted by his wife, his sons, his daughters, and a dependent, who was really more a friend than a servant, he helped the peasants to make roads, bridged the Bruch between Fouday and Rothau with his own hands, opened schools, gave instruction in weaving, procured fruit-trees and potatoes for planting, in fact raised the inhabitants to a degree of cheerful comfort such as had never previously been known to them, nor, indeed, to their fathers either. Oberlin died in 1826, being then eighty-six years old. In the churchyard at Fouday (now called Urbach by the Germans) there is a stone bearing his name, and, in French, the words: "He was for Sixty Years the Father of this Canton. The Memory of the Righteous shall be Blessed." According to some accounts Oberlin's remains are not buried here, but rest beside those of his wife at Waldersbach, where he had his parsonage, and where, we believe, many mementoes of this most worthy man are still preserved.

From the Ban de la Roche another interesting spot may be reached, the Hohwald and the famous convent of Saint Odilia, who is regarded as the Patroness of Alsace. She was the daughter of the seventh-century Alsatian Duke Adalric the Cruel, and was born blind, for which reason her father would have had her killed had not her nurse fled with her to a Burgundian convent. There, according to the legend, on being baptized, the sense of sight was miraculously bestowed on her. Her unnatural father repented, and in course of time, finding her unwilling to marry, gave her the Castle of Hohenburg in order that she might transform it into a convent. The spot is famous throughout Alsace, and is the scene every Whitsuntide of a great Catholic pilgrimage. The

scenery, with its crags and forests, is very striking. There is a spring whither people repair when they are afflicted with complaints of the eyesight, and in the vicinity one finds some remains of a so-called Heidenmauer or Pagans' Wall, composed of unhewn stones heaped together without cement, the whole averaging from eight to ten feet in height. Similar walls are found on the Taennichel, Frankenburg, Guerbaden, Ochsenstein, and Heiligenberg heights. Some writers have claimed that these structures date from absolutely prehistoric times, others have ascribed them to the Gauls or the Romans. There is reason to believe that they existed prior to the Roman dominion and were raised by the native Celts as barriers against the Germanic hordes which repeatedly poured across the Rhine, bent, like their descendants of to-day, upon overrunning Gaul. In some instances the more or less circular character of the structures indicates that they formed camps of refuge from the invaders. The Romans, doubtless, made use of them after Julius Cæsar had vanquished the Swabian Germans of Ariovistus, and Alsace came under the protecting Roman rule.

In normal times the town of Barr—which is not far from Saint Odilia's convent, and where there are some mineral springs—used to be extensively patronized for the excursions which may be made from it, not only to Sainte-Odile, but to other interesting spots, such as the castle and the town of Andlau, associated with the counts of that name. The last member of this family that we ever heard of was General Count d'Andlau, a Senator of France, who, after powerfully contributing to expose the conduct of Marshal Bazaine at Metz, became implicated, unhappily, in a great scandal respecting the sale of the Legion of Honour

in President Grévy's time, and thereupon fled to South America. Barr is associated with a singular legend respecting Ricardis, the repudiated wife of Charles the Fat, Emperor of Germany and Italy, and King of France. Ricardis, it is said,* was entreating Heaven to designate to her some suitable place of asylum when an angel appeared and told her to select a spot where she would see something remarkable. Soon afterwards, in her wanderings, she perceived a she-bear who, with the help of her cubs, was scratching the ground and throwing up a kind of *enceinte*. Ricardis took this as a sign from Heaven, and founded a famous abbey on the spot. I have given this legend, as I gave that of Saint Odilia, simply by way of exemplifying the many curious ones which are current in Alsace.

East of the region at which I have just glanced, and on the River Ill, south of Strasburg, will be found the old fortified town of Erstein (6000 inhabitants) which is the centre of another *Kreis* of Lower Alsace. Yet another is that of Schlestadt (Schlettstadt), a town situated still more to the south and not far from the Ill. Very ancient, the residence of some of the Frankish kings, and possessing in its church of Sainte-Foi (Saint Fides) one of the finest Romanesque fanes in the Reichsland, Schlestadt ranked under the French as a fourth-class fortress, but was dismantled by the Germans in 1872. At the last census the town had a population of 10,600.

We now enter the *Bezirk* of Upper Alsace, whose chief town is Colmar. Situated in the Alsatian Plain,

* She was the daughter of a Count of Nordgau, and was accused of adultery with a Lord of Verceil, against which charge she protested. She married Charles in 877 and was afterwards crowned with him at Rome by Pope John VIII. She died in 911 at the Alsatian monastery which she had founded.

it is watered by the Ill's tributary, the Lauch, and the Logelbach Canal coming from the Fecht. An artificial waterway also connects it with the Rhône and Rhine Canal. The central part of Colmar is a typical old Alsatian town with irregular streets, wooden bridges over the Logelbach, and houses of far-away days, sometimes with painted fronts, sometimes with ornate gables, sometimes yet more elaborate in the Renaissance style, the whole contrasting strongly with what may be seen in the modern outskirts. In a word, there is much to interest the antiquarian and the artist in the older part of Colmar. Bartholdi, the sculptor,* was a native of the town, which displays with pride several examples of his work—among others a statue of Jean Rapp, Napoleon's valiant general who, being besieged in Dantzig, defended it for a whole year—in fact, to the last extremity; secondly, a statue of Admiral Bruat, who commanded the French Black Sea fleet in the Crimean War. Both of these, like Bartholdi himself, belonged to Colmar. Another example of the great sculptor's powers will be found in the cemetery. It is a monument to the Colmarians who fell while fighting the Germans at the engagement of Horburg on September 14, 1870.

France first acquired Colmar from the Swedes at the time of the Thirty Years' War, but the union severed in 1871 may be said to have dated more precisely from January 1675, when Turenne, after crossing the snowbound Vosges, routed the Germans on the plain between Colmar and Türkheim and threw them out of Alsace. The Alsatian Sovereign Council, which under the sway of the Hapsburgs had been accustomed to meet at Ensisheim, then removed to

* See p. 30, *ante*.

Colmar. Since 1871 the Germans have made the little city the seat of the Alsatian *Oberlandesgericht* or Supreme Court. At the census of 1910 Colmar counted nearly 44,000 inhabitants.

Ribeauvillé, the centre of the most northern Colmarian circle, and called Rappoltsweiler by the Germans, is very picturesquely situated below some spurs of the Vosges where several old castles may be seen, and where some of the best wine of Alsace is vintaged. The town, now one of 6000 souls, pertained anciently to the Lords of Ribeaupierre (Rappoltstein), who were accounted kings of all itinerant musicians and minstrels. There is an ancient house at Ribeauvillé where the corporation of these tuneful wanderers was wont to assemble, particularly on Pipers' Day, September 8. When the last Lord of Ribeaupierre and Ribeauvillé died, Louis XIV bestowed the seignory on a Duke of Zwei-Brücken-Birkenfeld, who was a general in his service. At the same time this duke belonged to the House of Bavaria (Zwei-Brücken is in the Rhenish Palatinate), and from him the present Bavarian king is descended. The action of Louis XIV in bestowing an Alsatian lordship on a foreigner added yet another and a quite uncalled-for complication to the many in which Alsatian history was then already entangled.

Not far from Ribeauvillé, but more among the Vosges, is a little place long known as La Poultroie but rechristened Schmerlach by the Germans, who in like fashion have given the name of Diedolshausen to the village of Le Bonhomme near the Vosgian pass of that name. In the same way Orbey, in the Ribeauvillé (or Rappoltsweiler) *Kreis*, has become Urbeis. It is a place of 4500 souls, and possesses some silk and cotton mills. Near it in the mountains are two

lonely sheets of water known respectively as the White and the Black Lakes.

Münster, a manufacturing town of 6000 souls, but noted more particularly, as was mentioned in my first chapter, for its odoriferous cheese,* stands in the narrow valley of the Fecht, not far from the Schlucht Pass of the Vosges, and about fifteen miles from Colmar. In the Münster Valley, but nearer Colmar, is Soultz (Sulzbad, 4800 inhabitants), noted for its acidulous mineral waters, which in French days were often called the baths for lunatics (*bains des fous*) as they were held to be beneficial in restoring the mind to equilibrium, particularly in cases of hysteria, hypochondria, and so forth. On the south-east of Colmar, beside the Rhône and Rhine Canal, and a couple of miles or so from the last-named river, stands Neuf-Brisach (Neu Breisach), built in Louis XIV's time by Vauban as a means of keeping the predatory Germans on their own side of the Rhenish waters. In this same part of Upper Alsace will be found a little place called Eguisheim, which prides itself less on its conspicuous towered castle than on the fact that no less a personage than a Pope was born there—this being Leo IX, who occupied the chair of St. Peter from 1048 to 1054. It was at the time of this Alsatian Pontiff that the severance of the Greek and the Latin Churches was finally consummated. Ruffach (3800 inhabitants), midway between Münster and Neuf-Brisach, gave birth to another notable character, Marshal Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzig, the blunt gallant fellow who married his washerwoman, styled "Madame Sans-Gêne" by playwrights, though the real Sans-Gêne happens to have been quite a different person. It was Lefebvre who, when a Prussian

* See p. 20, *ante*.

officer of the Junker strain sneered at Napoleon's commanders, asking who were their ancestors, retorted with well-justified pride: "Ancestors? We are our own ancestors!"

Guebwiller (Gebweiler) lies south of Ruffach, and is a busy town of 13,000 people engaged chiefly in one or another branch of the textile industries, though some are concerned in viticulture, the produce of the neighbouring vineyards, notably the wine known as *Kitterlé*, being very good growths. There are some interesting ancient churches here, and on the south side of the Ballon de Guebwiller, the highest mountain in the Vosges, and near the Bussang Pass, one finds, in the valley of Saint-Amarin, the ruins of the Abbey of Murbach, dating from Charlemagne's time. Ensisheim, to which I previously referred,* stands on the Ill and the Bâle to Strasburg railway line, but, though it was once the capital of the Alsatian possessions of the Hapsburgs and still displays an imposing town hall and several other Renaissance edifices, it is now decayed, and counts only 2500 inhabitants.

Thann, occupied by the French in the earlier part of the Great War and still held by them at the time I write—as I hope will be permanently the case—ranked under the Germans as the centre of a *Kreis* of Upper Alsace. Inhabited before the war by some 7500 people, it is placed in the valley of the River Thur, among the Vosgian spurs, and is overlooked by the ruins of the Castle of Engelburg, which Turenne blew up in 1674, when the upper part of one of the towers fell in a solid mass, and lies below the other ruins like a huge barrel staved in at both ends, in such wise that you may look through it as through a telescope. The good folk of Thann call it "the

* See p. 39, *ante*.

sorceress's eye." The town, which existed already in the tenth century, contains a fine ogival church, sculptured profusely. The chief portal is* particularly remarkable for its statues and carvings depicting the story of Jesus and the Virgin, and there is a fine spire of delicate open work rising to a height of 300 feet. Two towers of the old fortifications of Thann still remain, and the town hall is interesting, for it was designed by General Kléber, who also superintended the building work, he being at the time "architect of civil edifices" in Upper Alsace. Before the present war Thann was noted for its printed textiles, and particularly its chemical products. On the north-west is the *bourg* of Wesserling (Hüsseren), also a little industrial locality, and in peaceful times a centre for various excursions among the mountains above the Thur Valley. Wesserling itself is of interest, as it is built round a castle-capped moraine of blocks of stone and gravel that fell from a glacier at some far-away period. Cernay (Sennheim), an old and formerly fortified town, now engaged in the textile industries, lies slightly south-west of Thann on the left bank of the Thur and at the foot of the Vosges. Between it and Guebwiller on the north rises the famous Hartmannsweiler Peak.†

From Cernay one may reach Mulhouse (Mülhausen), of whose industries some account was given in the previous chapter.‡ Although, combined with its industrial suburb Dornach, it is, in regard to population, the second city of Alsace (105,500 inhabitants), and at the same time the largest manufacturing centre in the whole Reichsland, it yields administratively

* I don't know whether the church has suffered during the present war. Possibly instead of "is" I ought to have written "was."

† See p. 15, *ante*.

‡ See p. 22 *ante*.

the *pas* to Colmar. It came at an early date under the sway of the Bishops of Strasburg, and later under that of the Hapsburgs, but joined the Decapole League in the thirteenth century, drove out all nobles, and became a free democratic city allied with the Swiss of Basle, Soleure, and Berne already in 1466. Mulhouse was never conquered by the French. At the peace of Westphalia it was included among the Swiss cantons, but in 1798 it quitted the Confederation and gave itself voluntarily to France. Watered by the Ill and the Rhône and Rhine Canal, on which there is a port, the town spreads out at the southern end of the great Alsatian plain. Its prosperity even in the days of French rule testified to the energy and industry of its democratic citizens, for the raw cotton for its manufactures had to be conveyed all the way from Havre and Marseilles, whilst the coals it needed were brought chiefly by canal from Saint-Etienne and Rive-de-Gier, in the southern part of France.

The museum contains some good paintings and objects of archæological interest, but the only old edifice of real account is the town hall, which was built in 1552 and combines features of the Gothic and the Renaissance styles. Inside there are some curious mural paintings by a sixteenth-century Colmar artist, and the council chamber has some windows of stained glass, recalling Mulhouse's alliances with the Swiss cantons and France. On the south-west front used to hang a stone carved so as to represent a human head and known as the *Klapperstein* or *Pierre des Bavards*, otherwise the Chatterers' Stone. Folk who were convicted of slander or picking quarrels were compelled to carry this stone, hanging from their necks, round the town on the market or fair day following their sentence. This punishment for

unbridled loquacity was last inflicted on February 28, 1781.

Due west of Mulhouse, but in the Vosges near the French frontier, and separated by only a few heights from Thann, is Massevaux, otherwise Masmünster, a town of between three and four thousand people, which owes its name to a conventual establishment founded in 720 by a certain Mason who was related to Saint Odilia. It is called Cœnobium Masonvillæ in ancient deeds, and a list of its abbesses from its foundation until 1790 is extant. Occupied at one time by Benedictine nuns it eventually became a Chapter of Noble Dames, and there it was that Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst, afterwards famous as Catherine the Great and the "Semiramis of the North," received her education. Her career seems to indicate that whatever accomplishments she may have acquired among the noble dames of Massevaux, no principles of morality were instilled into her.

South-west of Mulhouse and on the way towards Belfort, Altkirch, the centre of the southernmost *Kreis* of Upper Alsace, rises in terraced fashion on an eminence above the right bank of the Ill. Mulhouse is generally accounted the capital of the so-called Sundgau of Alsace, but in former times the term applied more exactly to Altkirch—that is, after its southern neighbour Ferrette or Pfirt had declined. Nowadays, however, Altkirch has barely 3500 inhabitants. Its castle, where the archdukes of Austria generally resided when they visited their Alsatian possessions, has long been in ruins. The one existing building of Altkirch that presents features of interest is its old court of justice. The town is noted for the fine glazed red bricks made in its vicinity.

Ferrette (Ferreta and Phirretum in old Latin

deeds) stands on a northern spur of the Jura Mountains, which hereabouts form the frontier of Alsace and Switzerland. I shall have occasion to speak of it more particularly in my next chapter in connexion with the early history of Alsace. Here it need only be said that Ferrette, after serving as a Roman post of observation, was ruled for some centuries by a line of independent counts springing from the house of Montbéliard, who acquired several other towns and lordships in this part of Alsace. In 1324 these possessions were conveyed by their heiress, Joan, to a member of the house of Austria whom she married. At a subsequent date they were mortgaged to Charles the Rash of Burgundy, but reverted to the Hapsburgs when Charles's only child and heiress, Marie, married the Emperor Maximilian I. Finally they were ceded to France, with virtually all the Sundgau and Upper Alsace, by the Treaty of Westphalia, otherwise Münster (1648), which was confirmed eleven years later by the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

We have now reached the southern limits of Alsace, and must retrace our steps northward in order to glance at the other division of the Reichsland, the north-eastern part of Lorraine which the Germans annexed in 1871. The famous fortified city of Metz is its capital, subordinate, however, to Strasburg. In ancient days Metz was the chief town of the Gallic tribe of the Mediomatrici, and was known for a time as Divodurum. However, the Romans themselves subsequently called the place Metis and Metlis, after its original inhabitants. Already in the fourth century of our era Metz was a bishop's see, and between 511 and 843 it became the capital of the Frankish kingdom of Austrasia (Eastern Gaul) where the Carlovingian dynasty arose. At the partition of Charle-

magne's empire (Verdun, 843) a kingdom was formed in favour of his great-grandson, Lothair II, whose father, Lothair I, sometime "Emperor of the West," had been vanquished at Fontenoy by his brothers, Charles the Bald and Louis, otherwise Ludwig, the Germanic. The new kingdom was called Lotharingia after its sovereign, this being the only example of the kind known in French history, other regions having derived their names from the folk who dwelt in them, as witness Brittany, Burgundy, Normandy, Gascony, and Auvergne; or, as in the case of Champagne, Alsace, and the Ile-de-France, from physical circumstances; or, again, from the presence of some city in their midst, as is shown by Touraine (Tours), Anjou (Angers), Forez (Feurs). Dauphiné certainly took its appellation from the title of its rulers, but only Lorraine's came from an individual.

Metz afterwards passed to sundry German rulers, but at the time of the Emperor Otho II (tenth century) it became a free city of the Empire under its bishop. Although it was situated in Lorraine, its bishops, who were Princes of the Empire, never did homage to the Dukes of Lorraine, the situation being the same at Verdun and Toul, whose prelates also enjoyed a quasi-independence, being subject only to the Diet of the so-called Holy Roman Empire—an institution which differed greatly from the German Empire of to-day. At last in 1552 the Three Bishoprics of Lorraine were annexed by Henri II, son of Francis I of France, and although 365 years have elapsed since then Toul and Verdun have never since been torn from French territory. Nor was Metz wrung from France until 1871, when she had belonged to her for more than three centuries. It is true that the Emperor Charles V was extremely wrathful when he

heard of what Henri II had done, and that he besieged Metz with an army of 100,000 men. But the defence had been entrusted to the young and famous François de Guise, who, six years later, to the great chagrin of our first Mary, recovered Calais for the French crown. Guise, who belonged to the ducal house of Lorraine, inspired the burghers of Metz with confidence and energy, and after efforts of two months' duration the Emperor, having lost 30,000 of his men, was obliged to raise the siege. "Fortune is a woman," said he bitterly, "she favours only the young!"

Metz stands at the confluence of the Seille and the Moselle, which here throws out several arms. At the census of 1910 the city had a population of over 79,000. It has changed greatly since the fateful months of 1870 when Marshal Bazaine was invested within its lines and, when listening to the voice of his personal ambition, he "failed," as the judgment pronounced upon him recorded, "to do what duty and honour required." Beguiled by Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia and Bismarck, he ended by capitulating without having made a single really strenuous effort to break through the German lines. I shall have occasion to refer to him again. Here it is merely *en passant* that I allude to his guilt. Metz, I have said, has greatly altered since his time. Its inner walls are now demolished, and new quarters have sprung up, extending on the east beyond the Seille to Plantières and Queuleu, and on the south to Montigny and Sablons. Further, many new buildings have been erected in the older part of the city, though this still retains a number of interesting houses, including some which date from the thirteenth century. The outskirts are studded with new German forts, some of which are six miles or so from the city

limits. Many of these forts are named after German princes and commanders. For instance, there is Kronprinz Fort, Prinz August von Württemberg Fort, Graf Haesler Fort, and so on. There is likewise a so-called Bismarck Tower.

The huge central railway station, designed by a Berlinese architect in the Romanesque style, dates from 1908. Virtually all the French names of streets have been Germanized. The old Place Royale has become Kaiser Wilhelm Platz. The names of Marshal Fabert and Marshal Belle-Isle, however, have been suffered to remain, and the Germans have at least had the decency to spare the statues of Ney and Fabert, contenting themselves with setting up, by way of counterpoise, some effigies of the present Kaiser's "illustrious grandfather" and of Frederick Charles, who so successfully bamboozled Bazaine. The cathedral, a stately Gothic edifice dating partly from the thirteenth, but only finished in the sixteenth century, has been renovated in various ways. It was reroofed with copper and iron in 1877, and at the same period other restorations were begun. Much of the new sculpture is ridiculous, however. For instance, the Gothic portal of the south-west front has been decorated with statues, one of which, set up in or about 1896, represents the present German Emperor —the features are unmistakable and the fact is explicitly acknowledged by the German guide-books to Metz—in the guise of the Prophet Daniel! The first thought that arises in this connexion is that German idiocy could not well go further. Yet perhaps the sculptor of this effigy had some imperfect inkling of what time might bring to pass. He may, forsooth, have dimly foreseen another Daniel coming to judgment, another Daniel in the lions' den, another

Daniel reading the writing on the wall. But the end of the story was not disclosed to him; he knew not that the fate of the Daniel he portrayed would differ greatly from that of the Hebrew prophet—that he would give no heed to the writing, that judgment would be pronounced against him, and that he would not be spared by the lions.

In addition to the cathedral there are various interesting buildings at Metz, such as the former church of Notre Dame de la Ronde, which belonged to the Knights Templars, the eighteenth-century Hôtel de Ville, the Palais de Justice, the fine public library, and the municipal museum, where many remains of the Gallo-Roman era have been preserved. At no great distance from the city extend some of the most famous battlefields of the Franco-German War—on the east Borny and Courcelles, and on the west Saint-Privat, Mars-la-Tour, Gravelotte, Vionville, and Rezonville. On an island cemetery, north of Metz, are two monuments erected by the townsfolk in 1871, one to the French soldiers who died in the city during the siege, and a smaller one to the officers who fell in the outskirts. At the other localities I have mentioned there are several memorials both to French and to German combatants, as well as sundry tablets *ad majorem gloriam* of William I, Moltke, and Bismarck. Another place of interest is the château of Frescati, where the capitulation of Metz was signed on October 27, 1870. Near it, prior to the present war, stood some large sheds for German airships. I believe that they have since been bombed.

Following the Moselle northward from Metz one passes Maizières (now Ueckingen), a little town with some blast-furnaces, before reaching Thionville (Diedenhofen, over 14,000 inhabitants), which is the

chief centre of metallurgical industry in the annexed part of Lorraine, and also an extremely important railway junction, whither lines converge from Metz, Treves, Luxemburg, and Longuyon. Vauban fortified Thionville, which in his time was accounted quite a strong place, but in 1903 his works were razed by the Germans, who have demolished many other antiquated fortifications elsewhere. However, Sarrebourg or Saarburg on the Saar—not the town of that name across the frontier of Rhenish Prussia, but one in the south of the annexed part of Lorraine—still retains its old gates and ramparts. There is some contention that this place, now a town of 10,000 people, was the Pons Saravi of the Antoninian itinerary, though Saarbrücken, a Prussian possession, where the hostilities of 1870 virtually began,* also claims the classical name. In the Middle Ages, when Saarburg belonged to the Bishops of Metz, some Lombards settled there, and the town became a noted place for commercial intercourse between France and Germany. The Bishops afterwards ceded this possession to the Duchy of Lorraine, whence it passed, also by cession, to France in 1661. The town was then partially rebuilt by Louis XIV.

Several other localities derive their names from the River Saar on which they stand. For instance, there is Saarlouis, the birthplace of Marshal Ney, which Prussia wrung from France after Waterloo, and added to her Rhenish province. Just within the Lorraine frontier stands Sarreguemines (Saargemünd), a town of over 15,000 inhabitants with important brass foundries as well as factories making faience and porcelain. At the railway station here some German-

* Napoleon III's young son, the Prince Imperial, received on that occasion the "baptism of fire."

railways are linked to those of the Reichsland system in such wise as to make the place particularly important in war-time. South of Sarreguemines or Saargemünd one finds the little towns of Saaralben and Saarunion, each inhabited by some 3000 or 4000 people, whilst, more southward still, going towards Saarburg, is Fenestrange (Finstingen), a yet smaller but an ancient place with the remains of two feudal castles.

North-west of Sarreguemines stands Forbach (10,000 inhabitants), where large papier-mâché works used to exist. On a height rising above the town are the ruins of its feudal castle; and in the distance one can see the Spicheren or Spichererberg, a steep and sparsely wooded acclivity where the French under General Frossard entrenched themselves in August 1870. They were dislodged, however, by the Germans, this being one of the first reverses suffered by the French at the outset of the war.

The last slopes of the Vosges, separating Lorraine from Alsace, extend in a north-easterly direction. Hereabouts, just within Alsace and at the entry of the pleasant valley of Falkenstein, will be found Niederbronn, which I ought to have mentioned sooner. It is one of the ten or twelve spas of the Reichsland, and its waters are prescribed for complaints of the liver as well as for scrofula and lymphatic affections. In the eighteenth century the lordship of Niederbronn belonged to Baron Dietrich, Mayor of Strasburg, to whom I have previously referred. On the Lorraine side of the Vosgian slopes, and near the German frontier, stands Bitche (Bitsch), which has twice had the honour of keeping the Prussians at bay —first, in 1793 when an inhabitant gave warning of their approach by setting his house on fire; and,

secondly, in 1870 when, like Belfort, Bitche held out until the end of the war. Only the annexation gave this gallant little place, now one of 4000 souls, to Germany, and some years ago the Germans revenged themselves in a peculiarly characteristic fashion for the resistance offered to their arms. Bitche rejoiced in a statue of Lorraine's most glorious child, the immortal Maid, Joan of Arc. One morning, however, it was taken down and carted away, and in its place was raised a statue of William I, German Kaiser by the grace of Bismarck!

Some miles south of Bitche, in a well-wooded part of the Vosgian spurs on the Lorraine side, is Petite-Pierre (rechristened Lützelstein), which was formerly fortified. It possessed little or no garrison in 1870, and therefore had to surrender. The Germans afterwards demolished its defences. More southward yet, and on a barren, rocky plateau, stands another fortress of the old Lorraine—Phalsbourg (now Pfalzburg), the scene of one of Erckmann-Chatrian's famous stories. Twice was it besieged in the time of Napoleon, first in 1814, and next in the following year; and on each occasion it offered a desperate resistance. Nor did Phalsbourg belie its reputation in 1870, but held out right doughtily for four months, in spite of bombardment and conflagration. Nowadays, no doubt, Vauban's fortifications could not have offered anything like the same resistance. At the present time Phalsbourg is a town of about 3700 people.

On the south-western side of the annexed part of Lorraine—that is, near the French frontier in the direction of Nancy—will be found the towns of Château-Salins (Salzburg) and Dieuze, both of which are associated with salt. The salt deposits of this district

have certainly been worked since the eleventh century, and it has been held that they were known to the Romans. Château-Salins counted in 1910 less than 2500 inhabitants, but Dieuze had nearly 6000, having progressed whilst its neighbour was declining. Both towns are situated in the Valley of the Seille, which emerges from a great mere called the Etang de Lindre. The water covers at times an expanse of over 1600 acres, and has an average depth of about ten feet. Every three years, however, a part of the land is drained and cultivated with remarkable results.

III

ALSATIAN IIISTORY

(From Early Times to the Treaty of Westphalia)

Primitive Man in Alsace : The Celts of Cæsar's Time : Early German Incursions : Cæsar and Ariovistus : Roman Defences of Alsace : The Alemanni : Rome and the German Invaders : Alsace abandoned by the Empire : Vandal, Burgundian, and Hunnish Invasions : Alsace under the Merovingian and Carlovingian Franks : The Disruption of Charlemagne's Empire : Alsace under German Rule : Dukes, Landgraves, and Landvogts : The Robber Knights : The Free Cities and the Decapolis League : Enguerrand de Coucy in Alsace : The Rhenish Confederation : The Hapsburgs and Alsace : The Thirty Years' War : The Swedes abandon Alsace to France : The Province ceded to Louis XIV by Austria : Assent of the Alsatians.

The history of Alsace begins with the advent of the Romans in that region, but it is held by scientists that the country was inhabited already during the latter part of the pleistocene or quaternian age. Rather more than half a century ago portions of a human skull of the dolichocephalic type, recalling the skulls of the Emps grotto and the Neanderthal, were found at Eguisheim, near Colmar, and on the same spot at the same time were discovered a tooth of the *Elephas primogenius*, otherwise the mammoth, together with a knife and an arrow-head of silex. These discoveries were made in a bed of the clay, usually called loess, deposited by glaciers of Alpino-Rhenish origin; and the conclusion at which the learned men of the time arrived was that the human species existed in Alsace at the diluvian period following the glacial age, and was contemporaneous with

the aforesaid *Elephas primogenius*, the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, the *Ursus spelæus*, and the *Felis spelæa*—bones and teeth of all those animals having been discovered in Alsace in soil of the same character. Hundreds of objects in shivered or split and also polished stone have likewise been found in one or another part of the region, showing that its inhabitants passed through a stone age, and, judging by the spots where most discoveries were made, that these inhabitants dwelt preferentially on slopes overlooking rivers and meres. Deposits of loess are found in various parts of Alsace, notably in districts extending from the River Bruch on the south to Niederbronn on the north, and again towards the Swiss frontier on the south. In the real mountain and plain regions, however, only few split or polished flints have been discovered. The lower ground at the period referred to was indeed still under water, and therefore uninhabited. The waters did not subside until the bronze and iron ages, and only then did man begin to spread through this part of the country. As for Lorraine, or at least the part of it annexed by Germany, it would not seem to have been inhabited at as early a period as Alsace.

Whatever may have been the origin of the so-called Pagans' Walls and Castles, there are certainly a number of dolmen, peulven, cromlechs, etc., in the Vosgian districts, indicating the presence there of a Celtic population at an early date. Livy and Cæsar are the first to mention the inhabitants of the region, the former asserting that as far back as the Roman year 163—that is, about 591 B.C.—large bands of them made their way across the Rhine and through the Black Forest to the Danube, on whose banks they established themselves. That is more or less legen-

dary, and may have little if any foundation in fact. Cæsar, on the other hand, when he first became acquainted with Alsace, found it inhabited by Celtic tribes, which included, in the north (Metz and most of the Moselle country), the Mediomatrici and the Treviri, after whom the city of Treves is named. Southward dwelt the Rauraci and the Sequani. Along the Rhine, in parts of Upper Alsace, there was also a Helvetian tribe, called the Tulingi. At this period—the first century before Christ—many of the Mediomatrici Celts were constantly assailed by a Germanic people called the Tribocci, who flocked across the Rhine, compelled in a measure to quit their own lands by the constant incursions and conquests of another German tribe, the Suevi, from whom Swabia has derived its name, though the Suevi would appear to have had a more northern habitat at an earlier date. Some of the Mediomatrici Celts were gradually compelled to retreat before the Tribocci as far even as the Vosgian slopes.

Now at last it happened that war broke out between the Sequanian Celts and the Ædui—another tribe of Gallia Celtica, dwelling in a region which is now represented by the departments of the Côte-d'Or, the Nièvre, the Saône-et-Loire, and the Rhône. The Æduans were a powerful race, and the Sequanians and the Averni (of Auvergne), with whom they were allied, finding themselves hard pressed, eventually called in the foreigner to help them. The foreigner in question was a certain Ariovistus, otherwise, it is said, Ehrenvest—a compound German word signifying "firm in honour"—and he was the chieftain of various Germanic hordes, principally, it is asserted, Suevi or Swabians. According to Cæsar, Ariovistus began by providing 15,000 men, but ultimately

120,000 poured down upon the Æduans, attracted by the abundance which was found in Gaul and the prospect of appropriating its rich lands—in which respect they did not differ from their descendants, the Germans of to-day.

They certainly defeated the Ædui, who lost, Cæsar tells us, all their nobles and councillors in the struggle, and had their cavalry annihilated. But the invaders also ravaged and pillaged Upper Alsace, through which they passed, and after claiming a third part of the Sequanian lands as recompense for their services, their appetite increased and they demanded a second third. Thereupon the Sequanians, tardily repenting of their folly in soliciting the help of the unscrupulous Germans, became reconciled to the Ædui, and Cæsar's assistance was solicited. Before taking action the Roman general sent a message to Ariovistus requesting him to designate a suitable spot for an interview. The German chieftain replied that if he had needed anything of Cæsar he would have gone to him, and that it was for Cæsar to come to him if he desired anything of him. Ariovistus's next proceeding was to descend on Vesontio, now Besançon, and attempt its capture. Foiled in that endeavour, he consented to an interview with Cæsar, and when it took place his speech was every whit as bombastic and as mendacious as any of the orations or proclamations that have emanated from the present Kaiser. Tall and full-bodied, the leader of the great hordes from across the Rhine seems to have regarded with contempt the short and slender Roman and his far from numerous legions. It was an early illustration of that Teutonic conceit which prompted Germany's twentieth-century War Lord to refer to the contemptible little British Army. The

sequel taught Ariovistus his mistake. He had to retire before Cæsar's advance, and at last, after he had fixed his camp at Colmar, a great battle was fought on the plain between that town and Ensisheim—a tradition says near Rougemont, on the little River Saint Nicholas—and the Germanic hordes were cut to pieces, 90,000 dead or dying being left upon the field. The remainder fled precipitately across the Rhine, and Ariovistus and his two wives were either drowned in that river or perished during the previous fighting.

For a time this victory, achieved in the year 58 B.C., annihilated all Germanic power in Alsace, which became a dependency of Rome and a bulwark against the German barbarians. In the following year the whole territory, which had belonged to the Mediomatrici Celts before the irruptions of the Tribocci, was annexed, and Cæsar placed Labienus (father or grandfather of the famous orator and historian of that name) in charge of it. Nevertheless, from time to time bands of Germans still crossed the Rhine, and the Romans endeavoured to civilize them. Under Augustus certain lands were assigned to the Tribocci, who ended by clustering around Strasburg. A little later, during the same sovereign's reign (A.D. 9), occurred the memorable defeat of Varus by the ambitious German chieftain Arminius or Hermann. Subsequently that defeat was partially avenged by Tiberius and Germanicus, and Hermann, having aspired to autocratic sway, was ultimately assassinated by some of his own countrymen. Later still, in Vespasian's time (A.D. 70), came the rebellion of the Batavian leader Civilis against Rome, and some of the Alsatian tribes participated in this affair. But the Sequanians remained faithful to the Empire,

and after Cerealis had defeated Civilis, fire and sword were carried through the rebellious districts of Alsace.

Under the sovereignty of the Roman Emperors, the region, as we now know it, was divided between two provinces, *Germania prima* (capital, Mayence), in which Lower Alsace was included, and *Maxima Sequanorum* (capital, Besançon), to which Upper Alsace was attached. In order to restrain the constant incursions of the Germans the Empire's frontier was fortified from the Danube and along the Schwarzwald chain to the Ochsenwald. The Rhine front was protected by numerous *castella* and *castra*, such as those of Augusta Rauracorum (now the village of Augst), near Basle, Mons Brisaci (Vieux-Brisach), Argentoraria (Horburg, near Colmar), Helvetus (near Benfeld), Brocomagus (Brumath), and Saletis (Seltz). Farther away from the river there was Tres Tabernæ (Saverne). Winter camps and quarters were numerous. Strasburg, then called Argentoratum, was strongly fortified and garrisoned by the second, fourth, and eighth legions. It enjoyed at the time a reputation for the manufacture of weapons of war, and may be regarded as the chief Roman arsenal in this part of Gaul. The great road which passed from Italy through Switzerland was extended all along the Rhine, thus connecting the river fortresses which have been enumerated, and from it diverged two western roads, one running towards Montbéliard, and the other crossing the Vosges by the Col Bonhomme. La Poultroie in this neighbourhood derived its name from *Petrosa via*. Further, the Theodosian Table shows that there was a great road running from Strasburg to Metz by way of Saverne, Sarrebourg, and Dieuze.

As time elapsed Alsace became more and more civilized, and its legendary lore seems to indicate that Christianity spread to this part of Gaul already in the third century. Nevertheless the German attempts upon the province were constantly repeated. In the century we have mentioned trouble began with a confederation of Germanic tribes located principally between the Upper Rhine and the Neckar, though some of them, it seems, pertained to the Danubian region. These people became known in Gaul as the Alemanni, an appellation derived from the German words *Alle Männer* (all men). Transmitted through the ages this name has always served among the French, in the forms *Allemagne* and *Allemand*, to designate Germany and the German people. The Italians, moreover, call Germany *Alemagna*. Very numerous and warlike, the Alemanni repeatedly attempted to seize Alsace, and again and again the Roman Emperors or their lieutenants had to drive them back across the Rhine. For instance, in the year 217 Caracalla had to discharge that duty, in 237 it was the turn of Maximinus, in 265 that of Posthumus, a little later that of Aurelian, and in 281 that of Probus to do so. The last-named did not mince matters, and even as to-day in rural France each person who brings proof that he has killed a wolf is entitled to a pecuniary reward from his municipality, so this Roman Emperor ordained that every man who brought in the head of a German invader should receive a piece of gold.

Yet still the German attempts continued. In 287 the intruders were beaten back by Maximianus Hercules, in 301 by Constantius Chlorus, and in 304 by Constantine, afterwards the Great. At the time of his son, Constans II, the barbarians at last secured

an opportunity to seize Alsace, for after the defeat of the usurper Magnentius the Emperor utilized them to attack Decentius, one of Magnentius's kinsmen. Thereupon a German host under a certain Chnodomir crossed the Rhine, and after routing Decentius, captured and pillaged forty-five flourishing localities, including the towns of Strasburg, Brumath, Seltz, and Saverne. Thus in the years 353–4 they virtually made themselves masters of Alsace. As they refused to depart Constans dispatched the future Emperor Julian against them, and the Battle of Strasburg, fought in 357, compelled them to flee across the Rhine. To prevent, or at least to delay, future incursions Julian invaded their territory and again punished them severely. Ten years of comparative quietude then ensued, but during the winter of 367—that is, in the first Valentinian's time—they crossed over the ice-bound Rhine, fell upon the Roman garrisons and defeated them. Once more they were expelled, and the river fortresses were rebuilt or repaired by Valentinian's orders. In 378, however, they came yet again, but were soundly beaten by Gratian near Colmar. Thus things continued until in or about the year 403, at the time of Honorius, Rome abandoned Alsace to its fate.

This retirement has been related in conflicting ways. According to one account Stilicho, Honorius's general and also his father-in-law, wilfully withdrew from Alsace, dismantling all its fortresses, in order to give free admission to the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi or Swabians. Stilicho, be it noted, was of Vandal origin. The other account is more in keeping both with the eulogium of Stilicho, penned by Claudian of Alexandria, and with ascertained historical facts. It is that the general was constrained

to withdraw the legions from Alsace in order to contend—as he very ably did—against Alaric and the Visigoths in Italy. On the other hand, the Vandals and the Alans certainly availed themselves of the departure of the Roman soldiers. In 406 they overran Alsace, sacked and burnt its towns, demolished the Roman fortresses and monuments, and virtually destroyed all industry, commerce, and agriculture, in such wise that within a twelvemonth the province had become a waste.

About the same time as the Vandals and the Alans other invaders appeared—the Burgundians, who, according to Pliny, were akin to the Vandals and the Goths. Other writers, Ammianus Marcellinus and Orosius, claim, however, that they sprang from a Roman colony established in Central Germany some centuries previously; but, on the other hand, the Island of Rügen, in the Baltic, was once called Burgundaland and is known to have been inhabited by a Slavonic race. There may be some connexion between those facts. In any case, whatever their origin was, the Burgundians gradually approached the Rhine, and at one time Valentinian urged them to attack and dispossess the Alemanni settled there. In 407 they at last crossed the river and appeared in Alsace, but were subsequently defeated both by the Huns and by Aetius (Attila's victorious antagonist), whereupon, going southward, they entered Savoy, and then spread westward to the region of the Rhône.

Since the departure of the Roman legions Alsace had become, as it were, an open door by which any barbarian race might penetrate into Gaul. The Huns naturally availed themselves of this facility for invasion on setting out, during the first half of the

fifth century, to overrun the Gallo-Roman provinces. When in 451 Attila's innumerable host was at last defeated on the plain of Châlons-sur-Marne it was confronted by three forces, one of Gallo-Romans commanded by Aetius, one of Visigoths under their King Theodoric, and one of Franks, said to have been led by Merovius, from whom the Merovingian dynasty derived its name. These Franks had previously descended upon Gaul, and Aetius, though glad of their help on the Campi Catalaunici, repeatedly contended against them. They were divided into two branches, the Salic or Salian branch, which had come, it is said, from the vicinity of the Yssel, an arm of the Rhine flowing into the Zuider Zee, and another, the Ripuarian branch, located near the Rhine itself. There has been much speculation as to the origin of this people. They were one of the Germanic races, but it seems probable that they were more akin to the Batavians (or, as we should now say, the Dutch) than to the other German tribes, whom they certainly did not love, as was shown by frequent wars.

Fierce and barbarous as these Franks first were, they gradually assimilated what yet remained of Gallo-Roman civilization, and after becoming preponderant in Gaul, endeavoured, in spite of frequent contests among themselves, to keep out all German and other invaders. In 496 Clovis defeated the Alemanni on the Rhine—somewhere in the vicinity of Tolbiac, now Zulpich, near Cologne—but the struggle appears to have continued intermittently until 536, when the Alemanni had to acknowledge Frankish supremacy and evacuate all Gallic territory north of the wooded Eifel plateau, now in Rhenish Prussia. Exceptions were made at the time in favour of a few who were allowed to remain between the

Eifel and the Forest of Haguenau upon undertaking to pay a tax. Others dwelt, comparatively free, in the southern dioceses of Strasburg, Basle, and Constance. Frankish immigrants settled among the Alemanni and the remnants of the Celtic and Gallo-Roman population, and some measure of law and order slowly began to prevail.

It was the Frankish custom for a father to divide his possessions among his children, and thus, under the Merovingian dynasty, the Gallic territory was repeatedly split up into various kingdoms. Alsace followed the fortunes of that of Austrasia (the eastern kingdom), which was constantly at war with that of Neustria. In or about 630 there sprang up a line of Dukes of Alsace, but the dukedom was only a benefice and not hereditary, successive Kings of the Merovingian race appointing at their pleasure a new duke whenever any holder of the dignity died. According to some accounts it was Charles Martel, mayor of the palace at the time of Clothaire IV, who, becoming alarmed by the increasing power of the Alsatian dukes, suppressed them and instituted in their place two counts, one for Upper and the other for Lower Alsace. Another version asserts that this change was effected by Pepin, the first of the Carlovingians. But it appears certain that there were already such counts or landgraves at the time of the early dukes, and that they acted as deputy-governors under the latter. When the dukes were abolished the landgraves became direct officials of the King, and were charged with the administration of justice, the collection of the royal revenues, and the supervision of churches and conventual establishments.

Alsace is said to have continued prosperous until the death of Charlemagne. Agriculture extended, and

there was considerable trade in timber and wine. The Romanized Celts, dispossessed of most of their former lands, dwelt chiefly in the valleys of the Vosges and among the hill-side pasturages. Even to-day a Romanesque dialect will be found in these parts. The rest of the province was peopled by Franks and Germans, and even as a Frankish dialect prevailed in Lower Alsace so an Alemanian one predominated in the Upper districts.

It was on the Ochsenfeld, in Alsace, that in 810 Charlemagne's son, Louis le Débonnaire, was dethroned by his rebellious children with the connivance of the crafty Pope Gregory IV, who, though described in the histories of the Church as a learned and pious man, did not shrink from abetting the enterprise to dethrone and despoil Charlemagne's heir and successor. For a moment Louis' son Lothair succeeded him, but Lothair's brothers rebelled, and after Lothair had been defeated at Fontenoy-en-Puisaye (841) Louis was momentarily reinstated. Two years later Charlemagne's empire was dismembered by the famous Treaty of Verdun. By this convention Louis le Débonnaire's son Louis took all Germany as far as the Rhine, on which account he became known historically as Louis the Germanic. His brother Charles, afterwards known as the Bald, secured France within limits formed by the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Sâone, and the Rhône; whilst Eastern France, inclusive of Alsace, and some Italian possessions were assigned to the son of the previously defeated Lothair. Shortly before the latter died in 855 at a monastery at Treves, Lothair II assumed the title of King of Lotharingia or Lorraine, as I have already explained.*

* See pp. 10, 47, *ante.*

In 867 this Lothair bestowed the title of Duke of Alsace on a natural son of his, called Hugh; but two years later he died, and in 870 a Franco-German treaty was signed at Mersen, by which Alsace was transferred to Louis the Germanic. Hugh was thereupon debarred from exercising authority, but after Louis' death in 876 he regained it for a short time. Louis' son and successor, Charles the Fat, thereupon seized him, had his eyes put out, and shut him up in the Abbey of St. Gall.

Further contestations arose. Charles the Fat ended, however, by uniting for a few years the Carlovingian possessions—France, Germany, and Italy—under his sway. Then the French deposed him, and Eudes (not Hugh) Capet reigned over them in his stead. In Germany Charles the Fat was followed by Arnulf, who was crowned as Emperor in 896. He had bestowed the kingdom of Lorraine, which again included Alsace, on a natural son called Swentibold,* who when a conspiracy broke out to reinstate the blinded Hugh committed him again to durance, and, in accordance with the Frankish custom, caused his head to be shaved, as one unworthy of reigning. In Alsace-Lorraine Swentibold's exactions and cruelty were so great that after his father's death the people rose against him and recognized another of Arnulf's sons, Louis the Child, as sovereign. Swentibold was killed in some fighting in Westphalia in the year 900, and Louis the Child died eleven years later, whereupon Charles the Simple of France took possession of Alsace-Lorraine and came thither to be recognized as sovereign. From the standpoint of heredity his claim was indisputable, for he was descended from Charlemagne, and the death of Louis the Child had

* Latinized both as Zventibuchus and as Centiboldus in ancient deeds.

extinguished the Carlovingian line in Germany, where other houses now arose to the chief power. The first of the new sovereigns in that country was Conrad I, previously Duke of Franconia, and he within a few months wrested Alsace-Lorraine from Charles the Simple. But the inhabitants drove him out and in 913 reinstated the French King. In fact, it was only after the French had deposed Charles the Simple in 923—he perished in captivity at Péronne six years later—and at the time of the Emperor Henry the Fowler, that Alsace passed once more under German sway.

Under earlier German rulers the province had been administered by certain fiscal agents termed *nuntii cameræ*, whose exactions made them extremely unpopular. Conrad, during his brief spell of authority there, had appointed a Swabian lord as Duke, in order that the country might be better governed. Henry the Fowler followed this example, but it was only in 1080, at the time of the Emperor Henry IV (the adversary of the famous Hildebrand, otherwise Pope Gregory VII), that the dukedom of Alsace became a hereditary appanage of the house of Hohenstaufen, and continued as such until the last representative of that race, Conradin, suffered death on the scaffold at Naples in 1268. Under the Hohenstaufen Dukes of Alsace there were hereditary landgraves of the Upper and Lower Divisions, the first being appointed in 1138. These landgraves had no territorial status, their functions were chiefly judicial, and their courts of pleas were held in the open air until a so-called "regency" was established at Ensisheim. In Lower Alsace the landgraviate functions were exercised by several successive Counts of Wœrth, but in 1359 that county and the lordship of Erstein

were purchased by John of Lichtenberg, Bishop of Strasburg, for 32,000 gold florins. Previously he had become Imperial *Landvogt*, or high bailiff, in Upper Alsace, and after his death one finds the Bishops of Strasburg styling themselves Landgraves of Alsace, and convoking and presiding the States of Lower Alsace down to the time when German rule ceased there. Before the Strasburg prelates acquired the landgraviate dignity its holders included, apart from the Counts of Wœrth, a number of other petty nobles, and also some high and puissant personages. Among the sons of the early dukes who were often invested with the functions was a certain Erchanger, or Erchangarius, who became the father of the Empress Ricardis, the repudiated wife of Charles the Fat, a legend respecting whom I related in a previous chapter.* In Upper Alsace the first landgrave appears to have been Wernher of Hapsburg (1168), and several other members of his line took that title after abandoning the one of Count of Nordgau, which was last used, apparently, by the Emperor Henry IV of the Saxon line. Our Cœur de Lion's gaoler, Henry VI of the Hohenstaufen house—called the Cruel, or the Sharp—styled himself Landgravius Alsatiæ in a deed of 1192. The German term *Landgrafschaft* having no equivalent in French, Charles the Rash of Burgundy, who for a short time held the province, substituted the word *vicomté*, and even gave Alsace the name of *Auxois*.

Of lesser rank than the landgraves were the officials known by the name of *Landvogt*. They appear to have been high bailiffs, or stewards, acting on behalf of the landgraves, more particularly when the latter were also Holy Roman Emperors. Among

* See p. 38, *ante*.

these *Landvogts* were some Bishops of Strasburg, some Counts of Ferrette and Hohenberg, some Bavarian dukes, and Austrian dukes and archdukes, as well as sundry Burgraves of Magdeburg. After Alsace passed to France in the time of Louis XIV, that sovereign took to himself the title of Landgrave of Alsace, and at first conferred the *landvogtei*, or *bailliage*, on Henri Count d'Harcourt of the house of Lorraine. A little later Cardinal Mazarin and his nephew-in-law, La Meilleraye Duke Mazarin and husband of Hortense Mancini, became *Landvogts*. Some members of the house of Châtillon followed them, and finally, just before the great Revolution, the famous Duke de Choiseul held this dignity.

From the foregoing it will be seen that Alsace was ruled at various periods by dukes, counts, landgraves, or chief justices, and *Landvogts*, otherwise high stewards or bailiffs. The authority of these personages was often more nominal than real in early times. Soon after the feudal system originated quite a number of counts, barons, and so forth, many from across the Rhine, sprang up, some of them having extensive domains, and others owning little beyond the stone walls of their hill-side towers. Whilst the former were prosperous and afforded protection to their respective vassals and serfs, the latter subsisted by sheer robbery. Such was long the case all over the so-called Holy Roman Empire, throughout whose former Teutonic territory may still be found lingering many a legend of the old-time robber knights, the *Landschaden*—the "Banes of the Land"—as they became called. Commerce was throttled by these predatory "nobles" who "lived from the saddle," and who, as in the case of Eberhard of Württemberg, entitled themselves "friends of God

and enemies of all." Few roads were safe in their days. Travelling merchants went their way in fear and trembling, constantly repeating in their prayers:

"From Köckeritze and Lüderitze,
From Kröcker, Kracht, and Itzenplitze,
Good Lord deliver us!"

It was for purposes of self-defence against the enterprises of these plundering castellans, from whom many high and mighty folk of present-day Germany are descended, that several towns freed themselves and banded themselves together in confederations. Nowhere else were the so-called robber knights more plentiful than in Alsace, where they throve particularly by intercepting trade between Germany and France, and contrived, often for years, to secure impunity among their Vosgian fastnesses—to which circumstance may be traced the origin of the term "Alsatia," given by us originally to the lawbreakers' sanctuary of Whitefriars in London, and afterwards employed as a generic name to designate any rookery of dishonest and unscrupulous folk.

In 1255 the chief Alsatian centres joined the so-called Confederation of the Rhine, which included some three-score cities or towns allied together for purposes of self-defence. Already in the latter half of the previous century the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, one of whose favourite places of residence was Haguenau, in Alsace, had made various Alsatian townships "free imperial cities," and granted them a number of privileges. Strasburg became a "free city of the Empire" (*freie Reichstadt*), and in July 1205 (one account says 1201) the Emperor Philip (of Swabia) advanced Strasburg by diploma to the rank of an immediate city of the Empire—*unmittelbare Reichstadt.* Under Frederick II—that is, about 1219—

the city's privileges were increased by another charter. Thus it was gradually freed from the tyrannical rule of the officials appointed by its bishops, and secured, in addition to municipal autonomy, rights of high and low justice within its territory. The city's last-mentioned charter sanctioned a senate of twelve members, partly nobles and partly burgesses.

This state of affairs was by no means pleasing to the Strasburgian prelates, and one of them, Walter of Geroldseck, amidst the confusion which prevailed about the time of the last Hohenstaufen,* endeavoured to destroy the city's autonomy and extinguish its rights. The better to accomplish his design he excommunicated the inhabitants; nevertheless they resisted him, chose the famous Rudolph of Hapsburg to command them, and at a battle fought at Oberhausbergen on March 8, 1262, signally defeated the episcopal forces—the bishop's brother with seventy knights and ninety others of noble rank being taken

* That is, Conradin, who in endeavouring to reconquer the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was vanquished at Tagliacozzo and, although only sixteen years of age, was sent to the scaffold by Charles of Anjou, brother of the French King, Saint Louis. The Sicilian kingdom had come to the Hohenstaufen emperors by the marriage of Conradin's grandfather, the Emperor Henry VI, with the Princess Constantia of the Sicilian Norman dynasty which followed the Saracen rule. Henry, however, in order to assert his "rights," had to conquer Calabria and Sicily by force, and, as Gibbon put it, "against the unanimous wish of a free people." What the Sicilians thought of the irruption of the Germans is shown by the writings of Hugo Falcandus, the "Tacitus of the Middle Ages": "Constantia, the daughter of Sicily," said he, "nursed from her cradle in the pleasures and plenty, and educated in the arts and manners of this fortunate island, departed long since to enrich the Barbarians with our treasures, and she now returns with her savage allies to contaminate the beauties of her ancient parental land. Already do I behold the swarms of angry Barbarians! Our opulent cities, places flourishing after a long peace, are shaken with fear, desolated by slaughter, consumed by rapine, and polluted by intemperance and lust. I see our citizens massacred or reduced to bondage, and our virgins and our matrons raped." Had Falcandus lived eight centuries later he could not have written differently of the Germans in Belgium and Northern France and other lands also.

prisoners by the burghers. Eleven years later, when Rudolph of Hapsburg became Emperor, he confirmed all Strasburg's rights and privileges.

A long period of contention between the city's old patrician families and its burgesses and artisans ensued; but the Strasburgian Government assumed by degrees a more and more democratic, in fact a republican, character, which culminated at last in 1482—at the time of Frederick the Pacific—in a famous charter called the *Schwœrbrief*. It took this name from the provision it contained that once every year one and all should swear obedience to it. The constitution confirmed by this charter subsisted with very few changes down to the time of the French Revolution, for it was respected by even so imperious a monarch as Louis XIV. The municipal Senate consisted at first of forty-seven members—that is, eight nobles, fourteen burgesses, and twenty-five artisans—the full number afterwards being reduced to thirty members, ten nobles, and twenty representatives of the guilds or corporations. At the head of the administration were two *Stettmeister* (joint mayors, so to say) and an *Ammeister*, or chief officer of the guilds. The number of guilds was limited to twenty, each of which chose fifteen representatives known as *échevins*. These (300 altogether) formed a Grand Council. One may take the Senate as an Upper House or Court of Aldermen, and the Grand Council as a Lower House or Common Council. The executive was composed of three Chambers or Committees known respectively as the Thirteen, the Fifteen, and the Twenty-one. The members appear to have been named for life, one-third of them being nobles, and two-thirds belonging to the other classes. The Thirteen had charge of the city's Foreign Policy, the

Fifteen dealt with Home Affairs, and the Twenty-one were in charge of religious and judicial matters. The organization may seem to have been somewhat intricate, but it was regarded in the old days as a masterpiece of political wisdom, and Erasmus remarked that the little Republic of Strasburg was the ideal of its kind.

I have written at some length on this subject in view of some of the latter-day pretensions of Germany respecting Strasburg. The city emerged from the Middle Ages essentially as a Republic, acknowledging no personal rule whether on the part of its Bishop, or any Alsatian Landgrave, or any German Emperor, or, later, any King of France. If its constitution was somewhat complicated, this was devised precisely to prevent any one man from attempting despotic rule. It may be added that the constitution of Strasburg served as a model for several other cities in the region of the Rhine.

It is now necessary to revert to earlier times. During the interregnum which elapsed between the death of Rudolph of Hapsburg and the accession of Adolphus of Nassau (1291–92) the Alsatians—clergy, nobles, and burgesses—made an attempt to sever their connexion with the Empire and secure absolute independence. They were not sufficiently powerful, however, to effect their object; but in 1354, with the assent of the Emperor Charles IV (of the house of Luxemburg), ten of the free towns—Colmar, Haguenau, Kayserberg, Mulhouse, Münster, Obernai, Rosheim, Schlestadt, Türkheim, and Weissenburg—formed for mutual support a league known as the Decapolis. Unfortunately the contracting parties constituting this Confederation were often remiss in fulfilling their obligations—notably in regard to Mul-

house, which, being coveted by some of the Hapsburgs and others, vainly appealed to its allies for assistance on two principal occasions during the fifteenth century. Mulhouse ultimately turned for help to the Swiss, and, in gratitude to them, joined their Confederation in 1513, in such wise that it afterwards took no part in Alsatian affairs, and even escaped annexation by Louis XIV. Indeed, only in 1798 did this democratic little State, for such it was, sever of its own free will its connexion with Switzerland and give itself over to the French Republic. The withdrawal of Mulhouse from the Decapolis League (into which, by the way, Strasburg, satisfied with its own independence, never entered) led to the League's decline and demise in the course of the sixteenth century.

The famous Black Plague, of which Boccaccio has left us such a vivid account in the "Decameron"—in Italy alone during seven months of the year 1348 it carried off 120,000 persons, including Boccaccio's Fiammetta—soon spread to France, passed through the Rhône region, where Petrarch's Laura succumbed to it, and, in the following year, made its appearance as far north as Alsace. Strasburg did not escape infection, 16,000 of its inhabitants perished, and the survivors, blindly accusing the Jews who dwelt among them of being the authors of this pestilence, fell upon them and are said to have put 2000 to death, a number of these being burnt at the stake. Seventeen years later (1365) came a so-called "English Invasion" of Alsace. The invaders were, however, really mercenaries of all nations, desperadoes of some of the so-called Great Companies at one time employed by Edward III and the Black Prince, but dismissed after the Peace of Brétigny. They ravaged the

Alsatian rural districts, and several towns found it difficult to keep them at bay. For some years bands of these soldiery roamed about the country, and in 1375 a large force of them, or others of a similar stamp, was gathered together by a French noble who suddenly laid claim to Alsace, Aargau, and Brisgau —the last named now a district of Baden.

The reader may remember that during the present Great War the Germans wantonly destroyed, in the vicinity of Soissons, one of the finest ruined feudal castles of France, that of Coucy, the admiration of archæologists in modern times. Erected in the thirteenth century by Enguerrand III, Sire de Coucy, this castle was partly blown up by Mazarin during the second Fronde rebellion in 1652, and forty years later its majestic circular keep (187 feet in height and 325 feet in circumference) was cleft from top to bottom (though its walls were 34 feet thick) by the shock of a great earthquake. Since then, until the German barbarians came, Coucy had been but an imposing picturesque ruin, without military importance, but highly interesting as a memorial of feudal times. I have recalled those facts because the noble who laid claim to Alsace in 1375 was Enguerrand VII, the last of the old Sires de Coucy. It will give an idea of the position to which that house attained if I mention that the mother of Enguerrand VII was a sister of Duke Leopold of Austria, a granddaughter of the Emperor Albert I, and a great-granddaughter of the famous Rudolph of Hapsburg. It was by virtue of this descent that Enguerrand laid claim to the Hapsburg domains and rights in Alsace and other parts. Enguerrand, moreover, had a Scottish grandmother, a daughter or sister of the first of the Baliols, and, further, whilst he was residing in England as

a hostage for King John of France, Edward III gave him his daughter Isabella in marriage and conferred on him the barony of Bedford and other lordships.

Such was the international *grand seigneur* who suddenly descended upon Alsace with a number of soldiers of fortune to enforce his claim to "his mother's rights." His uncle, the Landgrave Duke Leopold of Austria, was taken by surprise, but he obtained assistance from the Swiss, and Enguerrand's motley bands of mercenaries were worsted in various encounters, with the result that the Pretender abandoned his claims upon being granted the lordships of Baren and Nidau as *fiches de consolation.* Subsequently, the King of France being his suzerain, Enguerrand fought (somewhat unwillingly) against the English in various parts. He died, leaving two daughters, one of whom conveyed the lordship of Coucy to the house of Bar, whence it passed to that of Luxemburg and ultimately to the French crown.

I have had occasion more than once to refer to the Hapsburg connexion with Alsace, and before going further it is as well to explain matters rather more clearly, particularly as it was the Austrian house which ultimately ceded Alsace to France. It may be said then that whilst the Hapsburg power in the province began (as was mentioned on p. 69) with the appointment of sundry members of the family as landgraves under the emperors, it was chiefly by the acquisition of the county of Ferrette—a locality situated in the extreme south of Alsace *—that this power was consolidated. Ferrette was first held by a line of nobles originating with a certain Frederick, son of Thierry or Theodoric I, Count of

* See p. 45, *ante.*

Bar, Mousson, and Montbéliard. Originally the county of Ferrette included, besides that locality, both Altkirch and Thann, and some villages now in Switzerland. In the thirteenth century the lordships of Florimond and Rougemont were added to Ferrette, and subsequently both Delle and Belfort passed to the same house. The fourth of its counts, a certain Ulrich, became involved in hostilities with one of the Bishops of Strasburg, to whom he ended by ceding Thann and a few other localities. The cession was witnessed by Albert I of Austria, who, under his father, the famous Emperor Rudolph, acted at the time as Landgrave of Alsace, where the family possessed some little lordships. Ultimately Albert I also became Holy Roman Emperor. Now in 1275 Ulrich of Ferrette was succeeded by his son Theobald, and in 1310 by his grandson Ulrich II, who at his death was followed by his only child, a daughter named Joan. She was married to another Albert of Austria (who did not reign as Emperor), and to him, in March 1324, she conveyed her inheritance, he afterwards styling himself, "Dei Gratiâ Dux Austriæ, Landgravius Alsatiæ, nec non Comes Phirretarum." Joan's marriage was a scandalous affair, for her husband was notoriously impotent. She favoured several lovers, by one or another of whom she had three sons, named respectively Rudolph, Albert, and Leopold. In this wise she transmitted through the centuries a strain of bastardy to the Austrian Imperial House. Joan was also privy, in 1347, to the poisoning of the Emperor Louis (or Ludwig) V of the Bavarian line. She died in 1351, her husband surviving her for seven years, whereupon Ferrette devolved upon her son Rudolph. At his death in August 1365 the county was inherited conjointly by his brothers,

and from them it passed with its dependent lordships —Cernay and Massevaux had been added to them— to others of the house of Austria.

During the interregnum which followed the death of the Emperor Albert II, Alsace was raided by bands of soldiery who had previously been in the pay of the Count d'Armagnac during his struggle with the house of Burgundy. Called Armagnacs in France, these impecunious mercenaries became known to the Alsatian peasantry as the *Arme Gecken*, or "Poor Scamps." In 1444—five years after their first irruption—they returned under the orders of the French Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI), who had engaged in hostilities with some of the Swiss. When the latter had been worsted at Saint-Jacques, it occurred to Louis' soldiers to pillage Alsace, the Emperor of the time, a certain Frederick the Pacific, being virtually powerless. But the confederate Alsatian towns rose up against the *Arme Gecken*, and in 1445 compelled them to evacuate the province.

Twenty-two years later Charles the Rash * ascended the ducal throne of Burgundy, and in 1469 Sigismund, a Duke of Austria, and a needy one, sold to him the Landgraviate of Upper Alsace, together with all proprietary rights over the Sundgau, Brisgau (on the right bank of the Rhine), the county of Ferrette and its dependencies, for the sum of 80,000 florins in gold, it being stipulated that the inhabitants should retain all existing rights and privileges, and, further, that Sigismund or his heirs should be entitled to repurchase the lordships which were thus ceded. Charles, however, conceived the brilliant idea of immediately

* Most English writers call this prince Charles the Bold; but Rash is by far the better term, for it accords more closely both with the French appellation Téméraire and with the facts of Charles's career.

recouping himself for his outlay by emptying the pockets of his new subjects, and the exactions of his deputy, a certain Peter von Hagenbach, were terrible. Strasburg, Colmar, Schlestadt, and Basle at last offered to raise enough money to buy out Charles and his rights. But the Burgundian ruler rejected the offer, preferring to retain his hold on Alsace and, at the same time, bleed its people.

His envoy Hagenbach, to rid himself of the notables who resisted his oppression, endeavoured to have them murdered, but his plot being discovered his person was seized, and trial and sentence to decapitation followed; whereupon Charles in the first place dispatched Hagenbach's brother to Alsace to avenge him, and afterwards proceeded thither in person. Some thirty localities, small towns and villages, were pillaged and set on fire, but when Charles turned upon the Swiss allies of the Alsatians, their memorable victories over him at Morat and Grandson (1476) gave him full cause to regret his impetuous rashness. It is said that Duke Sigismund recovered his Alsatian lordships after Charles's death at the Battle of Nancy, but this is by no means clear. The preferable account seems to be that Charles's only daughter and heiress Marie of Burgundy brought these Alsatian possessions, together with the Free County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté), to her husband Maximilian of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Maximilian I.

In those old days Alsace did not suffer only from the exactions of princes and the irruptions of disorderly soldiery; its own peasant folk, at times no doubt with good reason, repeatedly rose against their lords. One rebellion of the kind occurred in 1493, and was followed by others in 1503, 1513, and 1525.

This last, the most serious of all, was largely of a religious character, being connected with the Anabaptist movement which spread to Northern Alsace from Westphalia and the Netherlands. Townships, villages, castles, and convents were attacked, taken, and pillaged, and Duke Anthony of Lorraine had to intervene in order to suppress the rebellion. The upshot was the Saverne affair referred to in a previous chapter*: the peasantry surrendering, giving up their weapons, and then being massacred—without any regard for the conditions arrived at—by the Duke's bloodthirsty German mercenaries.

The Reformation was received with favour in many parts of Alsace. The Lutheran zealots of Strasburg at first failed, however, in their endeavour to prohibit the celebration of Mass at the cathedral and other Catholic churches, though, generally speaking, they gained the mastery in the city. On the other hand, in the Sundgau or Upper Alsace, over which the Hapsburgs held direct sway, the Emperor Charles V caused the Reformation to be put down most mercilessly. It is said that no fewer than six hundred converts to the new doctrines were burnt at the stake. Strasburg, however, defied the Emperor, and went so far as to join the famous Protestant League of Smalkalde, which for political reasons was aided and abetted by Catholic France, where Francis I was reigning. In 1547 the League was defeated at Mühlberg, but another eight years elapsed before the Religious Peace of Augsburg re-established some degree of tranquillity. About half a century later trouble arose over the Bishopric of Strasburg, two would-be administrators of the see, which was vacant, contending with one another for the office by force

* See pp. 33, 34, *ante*.

of arms. On the one side was John George of Hohenzollern, Elector of Brandenburg, and on the other Cardinal Charles of Lorraine. The so-called Bishop War—*bischöfliche Krieg*—lasted for eight months, during which several Alsatian towns and villages were once again sacked and fired. Finally, on November 26, 1604, a treaty was signed at Haguenau by which the Hohenzollern desisted from his claims in return for the payment of a lump sum of money as "indemnity," and an annual allowance for life out of the revenues of the see. He was a Lutheran, but, like the Hohenzollern he also was, he did not object to pocketing Catholic gold.

At last came the famous Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), due in part to the antagonism of Protestants and Catholics, and in part to the overweening ambition of the house of Austria and the apprehensions which this excited. It was for the second reason that France, although governed by a Prince of the Church, Cardinal Richelieu, took part in the struggle, at first more or less covertly by supporting the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, but afterwards by direct intervention. At one and another period of the contest Alsace became one of the chief battlefields where all the participants committed the issue to the decision of arms. Nearly all the Alsatian nobility declared for the Protestant cause, but the province generally was very divided, and horrible excesses ensued on the part of the rival combatants. One of the first commanders on the German Protestant side, Count Mansfeld, levied heavy contributions of war on many towns, slaughtered the inhabitants of Rosheim, and afterwards destroyed the place. In 1632 a Swedish army under Count Gustavus Horn, after overruning a large part of Lorraine, penetrated

into Alsace where the Duke of Lorraine was holding the town of Saverne. The Lorrainers, however, could not stop the Swedes, who took town after town, and entering the Catholic Sundgau butchered many (one account says 2000) of its peasantry. At last the Catholic or Imperial forces retained little beyond a portion of Lower Alsace, including the town of Haguenau. In 1634 the Imperialists were beaten by the Swedes at Wattwiller, and in the same year Bernard of Saxe-Weimar defeated Duke Charles of Lorraine at the Champ-des-Bœufs, otherwise Ochsenfeld, and afterwards occupied Thann. In the same year, however, the Swedes and the German Protestants under Horn and Bernard of Weimar suffered a severe reverse at Nördlingen in Bavaria, where the Imperialists were commanded by the future Emperor Ferdinand III and Cardinal Don Fernando, an Infant of Spain.

After this engagement the Swedes found it impossible to retain possession of the towns they held in Alsace. They ceded them,* therefore, temporarily to France, by a treaty which was signed in Paris that same year, and which provided that France should transfer the towns in question to Bernard of Weimar whenever peace should ensue. It would appear that Bernard was acknowledged by France as Duke of Alsace, but as he died at Huningen in 1639 the country was never actually under his full control, though it is true that after he had taken Brisach in 1637, and defeated the Imperialists at Wittenwihr and the Lorrainers at Cernay, he occupied virtually all the territory excepting the towns which Richelieu had garrisoned with French troops. Among

* That is, with the exception of Benfeld, which the Swedes subsequently transferred to the Bishop of Strasburg.

these towns was Saverne, which a force under Cardinal de Lavalette (prelates had no scruples about fighting in those days) captured in 1636.

Hostilities were prolonged for some nine years after the death of Bernard of Weimar. France took a more and more prominent part in the great struggle in order to prevent the establishment of Austrian hegemony over Europe. The Emperor Ferdinand II, whose ambition and hatred of Protestantism had first lighted the torches of war, was dead, and his son Ferdinand III reigned in his place. Gustavus Adolphus had long since fallen on the field of Lützen; Wallenstein, his greatest adversary, had been assassinated with the connivance of his jealous sovereign; Horn was still alive, but Baner, the most terrible of the Swedish commanders, had preceded both Richelieu and Louis XIII to the grave. Louis XIV was but a young lad, reigning under the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria, who, in all probability, was secretly married to her principal Minister, Cardinal Mazarin. Yet, though many high and mighty personages had joined the majority and been replaced by others, though millions of combatants and non-combatants had been slain, though scores of towns and many hundreds of villages had been sacked and at times set on fire, though countless acres of fertile land lay waste, though burgesses starved beside their empty larders and hinds in their wretched huts, the Great War, which was to decide whether the Hapsburg (like the Hohenzollern to-day) should or should not be the Master of Europe, still continued.

In Alsace, by reason of the conspicuous and, one may add, sanguinary share of the Swedes in the struggle there, the war became known particularly

as the *Schwedenkrieg*, and so terrible was the desolation it brought with it, so many and so ghastly were the tales of horror and infamy handed down in later days from father to son, through successive generations, that the memory of it was still often evoked in towns and in villages, on the Rhenish plain and on the Vosgian slopes, beside the rivulets coursing through the sequestered valleys, and in the dim depths of the great forest lands, even until the times in which we ourselves live. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars left no such deep impression on the bulk of the Alsatians, though they shared the sufferings of that period; it needed the *Deutschenkrieg* of 1870 and all which then occurred to bedim the fireside traditions lingering from the days of the great Swedish-Austrian contest.

At last the victories of Freiburg and Nördlingen gained by Condé and Turenne over the Imperialists under Count Mercy, who fell in the last-mentioned battle, prepared the way for peace, though this was only finally concluded in 1648, after years of conference and discussion at Osnabrück. The Treaty of Westphalia or Münster, as it is diversely called (it was signed in the old town hall of Münster), provided for the enlargement of the territories of the North German princes, gave them and their subjects liberty of religion, and the right to enter into alliances with foreign States. Austrian domination in Germany thus received a very severe check. With respect to France, the Emperor Ferdinand III ceded to King Louis XIV (then ten years of age) the town and fortress of Breisach,* the Landgraviate of Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, inclusive of the county of Ferrette, all prefectoral rights over ten Imperial

* See p. 41, *ante*.

towns, and likewise transferred to him all authority in respect to the Bishops of Strasburg and Basle, the Abbots of Lure, Andlau, Münster, etc., the Counts of Fleckenstein and Lichtenberg, and all others of the nobility who had been immediate vassals of the Empire. Briefly, the entire Hapsburg suzerainty over Alsace passed to the Crown of France, the historic rights and customs of the inhabitants being at the same time confirmed to them. Strasburg was excepted from the treaty (apart from the transfer of authority over the Bishop) and remained a Free City of the Empire with its Republican constitution. Further, Mulhouse was not included, as it had become part of the Swiss Confederation.

Several clauses of the treaty were very vaguely worded, and led to contestation. Somewhat later, therefore, an instrument was signed at Osnabrück by which the old Treaties of Passau (1552) and Augsburg (1555) were confirmed, in order that there might be full liberty of conscience in Alsace. With respect to ecclesiastical property it was decided that each party (Catholic and Protestant) should retain what it had possessed at the beginning of the year 1624. Such then were the conditions under which Alsace, excepting Strasburg and Mulhouse, became a province of France.

Nevertheless, the settlement was not definitive. The next of the Germanic Emperors, Leopold I, endeavoured to upset it, and Alsace was invaded by Imperialist forces. They were expelled by Turenne after his victory at Türkheim on January 5, 1675, and four years later the Treaty of Nimeguen confirmed France in her possession of Alsace. This was again confirmed by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and yet again by the Treaty of Rastadt in 1714,

Charles VI, the father of the famous Maria Theresa, then having become Emperor. The Ryswick Treaty, by the way, expressly confirmed the annexation of Strasburg to France, which had taken place in 1681 under circumstances which I shall soon narrate. With regard to the county of Ferrette, the real source of the Austrian dominion in Alsace, the Bishop of Basle raised a preposterous claim to this lordship, but in December 1659, after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, Louis XIV bestowed it, with Belfort, Thann, Altkirch, and Isenheim, on Cardinal Mazarin, reserving to himself only rights of sovereignty. From Mazarin the *seigneuries* in question passed to his niece, Hortense Mancini, and her husband, on whose death in 1713 they reverted to the French Crown.

Yet another matter of interest and not without importance must be mentioned here. At the time of the Treaty of Westphalia the actual Landgrave of Alsace under the Emperor Ferdinand III was an Austrian Archduke named Ferdinand Charles, a young man of twenty or thereabouts at the date of the treaty. In order to compensate him for the rights which this instrument extinguished, Louis XIV, or rather his Minister, Mazarin, offered to pay him the sum of three million *livres tournois*, which, as a *livre tournois* was equivalent to about three-quarters of a *livre parisis*,* must have represented about £100,000 of our money—a large sum in those days. When in 1659 the Treaty of the Pyrenees was signed between France and Spain, Philip IV, sovereign of the latter country and a Hapsburg by his descent from the Emperor Charles V, renounced for himself and his successors all contingent claims on Alsace proper, the Sundgau, and Ferrette, and that point being

* *Livres* of Tours and *livres* of Paris.

settled Mazarin, on behalf of Louis XIV, promised to pay the £100,000 to Archduke Ferdinand Charles in five instalments to be spread over a period of three years. The Archduke died, however, at Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, on December 30, 1662, leaving no issue by his wife Anne, daughter of Cosmo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany *; and at that date at least the bulk of the money due to him from France had not yet been paid. In December the following year, however, it was remitted to his brother and heir, Archduke Sigismund Francis, who had been a party to the covenant; and receipts for the three million *livres tournois* are still preserved in the National Archives of France. Thus all claims of any description which might have been urged in respect to Alsace by any member of the Imperial Family were extinguished, and no prince of that family ever afterwards assumed any Alsatian title.

It is true, however, that the Bishop of Strasburg protested against the clause of the Treaty of Westphalia which virtually transferred his see from Germany to France. The motive of this protest may be easily fathomed. The prelate was a member of the Imperial family—a certain Leopold William of Austria. These Hapsburgs were a very proud set of men, particularly vain of their lineage and the rank to which they had risen. Their descent cannot be traced back with exactitude farther than the time of Albert the Rich, who was favoured by Frederick Barbarossa in the twelfth century; but although several spurious genealogies of the house have been concocted at various periods—some forgers connect-

* The mother of Ferdinand Charles was also a Medici, married to Archduke Leopold V. The Austrian pretensions to Tuscany originated in some of these matrimonial alliances.

ing it with the first house of Lorraine, others with Etichon, the early Duke of Alsace, others with the Zæringen line, yet others with the Pierleoni, and one with the Scipios of ancient Rome—they are known to have existed about the year 1000, when, indeed, a scion of the family, a certain Wernher, became Bishop of Strasburg.*

In the course of centuries that see became an important one. Those who held it were Prince-Bishop-Electors of the Empire, and in the general Diet occupied the tenth place (between the Bishops of Speyer and Constance) in the first row of seats allotted to the College of Princes. It follows that Leopold William, Bishop of Strasburg at the time of the Peace of Westphalia, was by no means inclined to become a subject of the French Crown. Thus he protested loudly against the transfer of his benefice, and was not pacified until His Most Christian but very youthful Majesty Louis XIV—who, throughout his long career, showed a great respect for bishops unless they presumptuously endeavoured to thwart his personal passions—graciously signified that he would renounce this particular stipulation in the Treaty of Münster, and leave Leopold William in his dignity as a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, for the time being, was the matter settled. It should, by the by, be noted that the Cathedral of Strasburg had been turned long previously into a Protestant church in spite of the protests of successive prelates, and that the town of Molsheim had become *de facto* the seat of the episcopal see.

* The reader may be reminded that the historic ruined castle of Hapsburg, which would appear to be of a much later date than the family's origin, stands on the Walpelsberg above Schinznach, in the canton of Argovia, Switzerland.

There remains still one important matter to be mentioned in connexion with the Treaty of Westphalia, one conveniently overlooked by many German writers. Alsace, with the exception of the Republics of Strasburg and Mulhouse, became a party to this treaty. The Emperor Ferdinand vainly tried to prevent what he regarded as an act of presumption. His opposition was disregarded. The imperial suzerainty over Alsace had long been only nominal. Thus a certain Dr. Mark Otton (or Otto) was dispatched to Münster as Alsatian envoy, and signed the conventions. This fact clearly indicates the willingness of the bulk of the Alsatians to become definitely united to France. I shall soon show that in course of time Strasburg and, subsequently, Mulhouse followed the example of the rest of the province.

IV

ALSATIAN HISTORY

(From the Peace of Westphalia to the War of 1870)

Strasburg united to France : Dietrich the *Ammeister* : The Curious Mission of the Count de Chamilly : The Convention between France and the Strasburg Authorities : The Edict of Nantes and the Persecution of Dietrich : The Condition of Alsace under the Old Régime : The Great Revolution in Alsace : Schneider the Franciscan : Commissaries Saint-Just and Lebas : Mulhouse chooses French Nationality : The Napoleonic Era in Alsace : The Bourbon Restoration : The Conspiracy of Belfort : The Reign of Louis Philippe : The future Napoleon III at Strasburg : Austrian Threats to seize Alsace : The Coup d'Etat and the Second Empire : Prussia and Neufchâtel : Bismarck's Threat to Alsace : Last Years of the Second Empire.

In 1672 Germany and Spain, alarmed by the successes of Louis XIV in his war with Holland, invaded Upper Alsace and took up winter quarters there. The "Republic of Strasburg" resolved to preserve neutrality, but according to the French this was not scrupulously observed, the citizens, it was said, allowing the Imperialists to make use of the bridge across the Rhine. Turenne, therefore, in the course of his operations endeavoured to seize a redoubt constituting a *tête de pont*, but the burghers defended themselves so vigorously that the French abandoned the enterprise, and Turenne afterwards promised to respect the town's neutrality. He eventually drove the Imperialists out of Alsace by his victories at Türkheim and Ensisheim, but was killed on July 27 that same year—1675—by a cannon-ball at Salzbach. Montecuculli, the Imperialist commander, afterwards inflicted

some reverses on the French, and the German forces, returning to Alsace, besieged Saverne and Haguenau. The great Condé at last threw them across the Rhine again, but before that was accomplished he attempted some negotiations with Strasburg, dispatching thither as his envoy a certain Marquis de Laloubère, who endeavoured to induce the burgesses to transfer the *tête de pont* to the French, in order to prevent any further irruption of the enemy from across the Rhine at this point.

The town's *Ammeister*—chief of the guilds and magistrate—was then Dominic Dietrich, a Lorrainer by origin, whom the religious intolerance of the times (he was a convinced Protestant) had driven from his native town of Saint-Nicolas near Nancy. He listened to Laloubère's suggestions, but, realizing that the transfer of the *tête de pont* to the French might well compromise the independence of Strasburg, he would not consent to it, but assumed command of the redoubt in person. Subsequently, however, when Marshal de Créqui had succeeded Condé, one of his lieutenants, the Baron de Montclar, captured the redoubt at Kehl—facing Strasburg on the other side of the Rhine—and set the bridge on fire—this being done to prevent the Imperialists from again using the bridge and to punish Strasburg for its alleged breaches of neutrality in that respect. At the same time fresh endeavours were made to win the authorities of the town over to the French cause. The war fluctuated for some while longer, but eventually, in 1678, the peace of Nimeguen was signed, and Strasburg thought its cherished independence secured.

Two years later Louis XIV instituted some special chambers (*chambres de réunion*) of the *parlements* of Metz, Brisach, and Besançon, and commissioned them

to inquire into the status of the fiefs, townships, and landed estates of Alsace, the Three Bishoprics, Franche-Comté, and French Flanders—provinces ceded to his crown in recent years, but where a certain number of nobles, municipalities, and others still claimed to be attached in one or another way to the Holy Roman Empire. An end was put to these anomalies in numerous instances, but the question of Strasburg remained. The town, with the neighbouring lands which it owned, claimed to be independent, yet still acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor. However, a certain Frischmann was appointed French Resident there, and gradually won the Bishop and the Grand Chapter over to the side of France. There can be no doubt that one of the chief inducements held out to these ecclesiastics was the restoration of the cathedral to the Catholic see. This—Leopold William of Austria having died in 1662—was now held by Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, who, in order to regain possession of property belonging to his Church, proved much more accommodating than his predecessor. Moreover, Frischmann, who installed a chapel in his house, gained over certain prominent Protestants of Strasburg and even induced them to abjure their religion. Among these folk were a certain Gauzer or Günzer, secretary of the Senate, and a man named Obrecht, whose father, having committed some crime or other, is said to have suffered the extreme penalty, on which account the son detested the *Ammeister* Dietrich. The last named had repeatedly given proof of his desire to preserve the town's independence unimpaired, but he at last entered into the views of those who favoured union with France.

Secret negotiations proceeded, and meantime, ostensibly for the purpose of enforcing certain de-

cisions of the previously mentioned *chambres de réunion*, Louvois, who had become Louis XIV's Secretary of State, strongly reinforced the troops which were garrisoned in Alsace under the command of that same General de Montclar who some years previously had fired the bridge of Kehl. It may be taken, I think, that the reinforcement of Montclar's troops was designed more to provide for eventualities should war ensue with Germany than to impose surrender on Strasburg, for there are many indications that Louvois (however imperious his nature may have been) did not desire to use force against the town, but wished to win it over by negotiation.

There is a romantic, in some respects perhaps fabulous, but in any case interesting story respecting the negotiations, which may be repeated here. Among the French generals of the time there was a certain Noël Bouton, Comte de Chamilly, who had fought bravely and successfully in several campaigns. He was a tall, handsome, well-built man, and being at one time in Portugal he there attracted the attention of a beautiful young nun, who addressed to him some of the most ardently passionate letters existing in the epistolary literature of any nation. Chamilly replied to the young person in an equally fervid strain, but as he was recalled to France the correspondence was not of long duration. He appears to have boasted about his adventure on his return home, and to have shown his inamorata's effusions to his friends. Such was the origin of the famous "Lettres Portuguaises"—translated into English, I believe, as the "Letters of a Portuguese Nun"—a few of them being held quite authentic, whilst others are regarded as concoctions. Chamilly may well be censured for circulating his *billets-doux*, but according to the memoirs of that

venomous prig, the self-admiring Duke de Saint-Simon, he was so grossly stupid and so ponderously beefy that it was incredible any woman should ever have loved him, or that he should have had any talent at all for warfare. The Duke asserts that Chamilly's wife accompanied him wherever he went in order to assist him with her brains, but it is quite as likely that she was extremely jealous of him, and did not wish him to succumb to the fascinations of any other woman, Portuguese nun or otherwise. However that may be, one day in 1684, when Chamilly was without a command, Louvois sent for him, and said that he wished him to go to Basle at once. The journey would take three days, and on the fourth, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was to repair to the bridge spanning the Rhine, and carefully note in writing every incident he might observe there, however insignificant this incident might be. At four o'clock he was to take his coach again, and return to Versailles with the utmost dispatch. At whatever hour he might arrive Louvois would be ready to receive him.

Without asking any questions, for he well knew the Minister's disposition, Chamilly went his way and installed himself on the bridge at Basle. The first person whom he saw crossing it was a woman carrying some baskets of fruit. Next a horseman rode by. Afterwards some ragged peasants passed. Then came some heavily laden porters, and at last, at 3 p.m. or thereabouts, a man in yellow coat and breeches appeared, and, approaching the parapet near the centre of the bridge, gazed for some minutes at the water. At last, suddenly stepping back, he rapped the masonry three times with a stout stick, and then walked away. Later, other people, men and women

of all sorts and conditions, passed over the bridge, but at four o'clock Chamilly's coach drove up and he sprang into it and was soon rolling away from Basle. He had noted down all that he had seen, but could not imagine how any such trivial incidents could possibly interest Louvois. To his thinking either the Minister had made a fool of him, or else something which it was thought he would witness had not occurred.

Nevertheless he carried out all his instructions. It was nearly midnight on the third day when he reached Versailles, but he at once waited upon Louvois, who received him eagerly, and without asking any questions hastily perused the notes which had been jotted down on the bridge. When the Minister came to the account of the man in yellow he raised an exclamation of delight, and although the King had retired some time previously he went to his apartments, caused him to be awakened, and told him that the authorities of Strasburg were willing to come under his rule, but wished it to appear that they surrendered to force.

One is led to infer from this story, not altogether unworthy of the great Dumas, that the man in yellow was Gauzer or Günzer, the secretary of the Senate of Strasburg, who is known to have quitted the town about this time on a so-called "mysterious journey." Apprehensive of the many German spies in Alsace, he was unwilling to have any interview there with a French emissary, and therefore proceeded to Basle to signify in an indirect but prearranged manner that the principle of French sovereignty was accepted. For the rest, the town laid down its own terms, which with certain reserves, none of great importance, were accepted by France. In Appendix B to this volume will be found the full text of the "Articles proposed by

the Prætors, Consuls, and Magistrate of the Town of Strasburg," with the annotations and reserves of the French plenipotentiaries, who were Louvois and General de Montclar.

The former, in order to conduct the final negotiations, repaired in all haste to Alsace, and installed himself at Illkirch, a few miles south of Strasburg, in an old pargeted, high-roofed house, with peaked corner turrets, which, I believe, still exists. Some points of interest in connexion with the historical document given in the Appendix may be discussed here. A certain discrepancy in dates will be observed. At the outset the "articles" are said to have been proposed on September 30, 1681. That is not so. September 30 was the date when the final ratification by Louis XIV was signified, the date when the convention became really binding; and it was doubtless for this reason that it was prefixed to the text I give. But the Proposals were made by the authorities of Strasburg twenty days previously. Above the signatures appear the words: "Done at Illkirch, September 10, 1681." In the preamble Louvois and Montclar promise the royal ratification within ten days' time, but it must have been delayed, as it seems to have been formally announced only on the 30th.

Another point is this: If the authorities of Strasburg desired the French to make a show of force it was to save their faces in various respects. There was, first, the fear of drawing upon the town the resentment of Germany, for, although, as I have shown, Strasburg had possessed for three centuries and more a constitution which practically made it independent, it still ranked as a Free City of the Empire, and held, municipally as well as ecclesiastically, certain lands

on the right bank of the Rhine—that is, in what may be well called German territory. One could hardly expect, then, that the Emperor (at that time Leopold I) would view with equanimity Strasburg's incorporation with France. He might even declare war, and, as I previously remarked, if Montclar had a strong force of troops at his disposal it was largely to enable that eventuality to be met. A great army was not required for the sole purpose of blockading Strasburg.

Further, the authorities of the town desired to save their faces in respect to those of their own compatriots who did not wish to sever the German connexion. It is certain that many people were perplexed respecting the best course to pursue. Questions of race, manners and customs, and religion tended to divide opinion. In the first respect it should be said that the Alsatians, generally, never identified themselves with the Germans dwelling across the Rhine. They applied to the latter the same contemptuous appellation of *Schwab* which one finds prevailing still to-day among the Magyars of Hungary. They, the Alsatians, were a mixed breed in which Celtic, Roman, and other elements were blended with a Germanic one. In the last named, moreover, there existed a Frankish strain, differing in various respects from other German strains. It may be said of the Dutch and the Flemings that they belong more or less to the Germanic family of races, yet are not Germans, and, indeed, generally resent being likened to them. Much the same remark may be applied to the Alsatians, whose affinities, particularly in Upper Alsace, linked them more to the German elements of the Swiss population than to the people of Germany proper. German invasions and German domination had

undoubtedly left their mark upon Alsace, but its inhabitants retained distinct characteristics of their own. I shall have something to say about their various dialects in another chapter, here I need only mention that Alsatian German was by no means readily understood across the Rhine.

With respect to the position at the time of the incorporation of Strasburg with France there is reason to think that what most tended to divide public opinion was religion, on which subject, both among Catholics and among Protestants, much intolerance prevailed. The question of uniformity of religion was then still largely regarded by communities as being more important than that of nationality, a man's nationality often being determined by his creed. It is well known that many French Protestants left their country and became foreigners long before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Now both the Emperor and the King of France were Catholics, but whilst there were several powerful Protestant Princes in Germany, there was none in France, where, moreover, the rights and privileges conferred on Protestants by the Edict of Nantes, that act of wisdom emanating from Henri IV, had been gradually, but steadily, curtailed by his grandson Louis XIV. That must have appeared ominous to the Alsatian Protestants, but although since the Peace of Westphalia proselytism had been practised in their midst, in an increasing degree, by the Catholic clergy and others, and although the favours of Louis XIV's officials went generally to Catholics, there does not appear to have been so far any governmental interference with religious liberty in Alsace. Protected as they were by the solemn treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, the Alsatian Protestants can hardly have imagined that before

long their right to worship as they pleased would be very seriously threatened.

Yet, on the whole, from the religious standpoint the question whether Strasburg should belong to France or to Germany was a perplexing one for many of its burghers. The officials who negotiated with Louvois must have realized that in any case the French would desire to restore the cathedral to the Catholic clergy. It will be observed that in Clause III of the town's Proposals this edifice is not specifically mentioned among the ecclesiastical buildings of which the Protestants wished to retain possession. Louvois' annotation to this clause is designed to make the question of the cathedral's future quite clear.

Whilst Strasburg at that time contained partisans of France and partisans of Germany, there were also many folk who wished the town to retain its independence unimpaired. Dietrich, the *Ammeister*, had long been one of them, but the recent wars had shown how very difficult it was for such a comparatively small community to ensure respect for its neutrality amidst the contentions of great powers. In that connexion one cannot help thinking of Belgium and all her cruel misfortunes.

I have said enough to show the reader that all sorts of reasons—the fear of German enmity and of possible protests on the part of citizens influenced by considerations of religion and independence—combined to induce the Strasburg authorities to require on the French side a show of force, which would make it appear that they yielded to sheer necessity. For the rest, the Proposals of the town's representatives prove how jealously they provided for the maintenance of the old constitution, religious liberty, the old privileges, rights, and revenues. At no moment was

there any question of an unconditional surrender, and historians have again and again misrepresented the facts by asserting that Strasburg was seized in an arbitrary fashion and in defiance of all right.

The proposals of Illkirch having been submitted on September 10, and sent with Louvois' annotations to Louis XIV for ratification, matters remained virtually *in statu quo* until the night of the 27th, by which time, probably, the ratification had arrived. In any case it was then that various detachments of Montclar's troops invested that part of Strasburg's fortifications—a redoubt—which was nearest to the Rhine, and seized the *tête de pont.* On the following day, apparently, some of the soldiers entered the town. There were cannon on the ramparts, but no attempt was, or could be, made to use them, for the authorities had carefully kept the gunpowder under lock and key, in order to prevent any impulsive burghers from endeavouring to resist the entry of the French. Finally, on September 30, the royal ratification of the Illkirch Proposals was delivered to the town officials. Thus Strasburg passed to the Crown of France.

Louis XIV is said to have arrived there on the ensuing October 23, when, it would appear, the cathedral was handed over to the Bishop*; but Edouard Siebecker, a prominent Alsatian writer of the last generation, tells us that the King only saw the town from the outside, being unwilling to enter it on account of the religious stipulations contained in the convention. If that be correct, the King's attitude already foreshadowed future trouble. The municipality of course continued in office, but a royal military governor was appointed, the post being assigned to the M. de

* Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, who was succeeded in 1685 by his brother Wilhelm.

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Chamilly whose more or less authentic expedition to Basle the reader will remember. About the same time the genius of Vauban was requisitioned to strengthen and increase the city's fortifications. Those then existing—they were the work of a skilful local engineer named Daniel Specklé—were already considerable, but Vauban added to them and built the citadel. There is a story that some time afterwards a German spy came to Strasburg to ascertain what the new defences might be like. Chamilly is said to have guessed his mission, and to have shown him over every bastion and casemate, after which he wished him a *bon voyage*, saying: "Now, monsieur, on your return to your master, the Emperor, you will be able to tell him that Strasburg is henceforth impregnable!"

It may well have been so in those days. Whatever we may think of Vauban's many fortifications now, when the art of warfare has undergone such vast changes, they were the most perfect of their kind in the age to which this man of genius belonged, and, indeed, they rendered good service for a long time afterwards. To Vauban was allotted the great task of making all the frontiers of France secure, and according to his scheme Lille, Metz, and Strasburg became three mainstays of the country's defence. He built the fortresses of Huningen and Belfort to check any invasion coming from the direction of Basle; Phalsbourg was designed to close the northern defiles of the Vosges; the works of Landau, then a French possession, were an answer to those of Philippsburg; whilst those of Ney's birthplace, Sarrelouis—filched by the Prussians in 1815—protected the gap in the frontier between the Vosges and the Moselle. Central Europe became alarmed by Vauban's activity,

rumours of war again arose, particularly as the Emperor felt extremely sore on the subject of Strasburg; but a truce was patched up at Ratisbon, and was to have lasted for twenty years, during which the Empire agreed to leave the capital of Alsace in the possession of France. As we shall see, however, the truce was only a brief one.

In 1685 Louis, yielding to the combined influence of his wife La Maintenon, whom he had married secretly the previous year, his reverend father confessor, and his Chancellor, Louvois' father, capped all the previous mistakes of his reign by a more stupendous one. To the lasting detriment of the French nation he revoked the Edict of Nantes. The Alsatian Protestants still imagined themselves protected by the covenants of Münster and Osnabrück, but the royal intendant, a man named La Grange, as fanatically bigoted as was his master, did his utmost to extirpate "heresy." Moreover, shoals of Jesuits and Capuchins descended on the province, scoured the countrysides, and frightened whole villages into abjuration, in such wise that before very long the proportion of Protestants in Alsace dwindled from two-thirds to a quarter of the population. Many folk emigrated to Switzerland and some even to Germany.

At the time of the Revocation, Dietrich, the *Ammeister* of Strasburg, was summoned to Versailles. It was known that he had contributed powerfully to the town's incorporation with France. His example, in giving up the idea of independence, had then exercised the greatest influence on many of his fellow-citizens. But he was a sturdy Protestant, and if Versailles so particularly desired that he should abjure his religious faith it was in the hope that his

example in this respect would again influence the people of Strasburg to follow in his steps. Promises were made to him, and when promises failed threats were tried, but nothing moved him. At last the exasperated, bigoted King caused him to be interned at Guéret (Creuse department), and there, in physical and mental suffering, he spent four weary years. When he was allowed to return to Strasburg it was only on the strict condition that he should not stir from his house, and that he should see nobody excepting the members of his own family. In this seclusion he had to remain until 1692, at which time he was seventy-two years old. More liberty was then allowed him, but on March 9, 1694, he passed away. In such wise were old-time fanatical and tyrannical kings only too apt to treat those to whom they were indebted for signal services.

By revoking the Edict of Nantes, however, Louis XIV had once more lighted the torch of war. In 1686, at the instigation of our Dutch William, the famous Augsburg League was formed. Many German Princes entered it as well as the Empire and Spain and Sweden. Hostilities did not begin until two years later, but they were only terminated in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick, which instrument, by the way, confirmed the French King in the possession of Strasburg as well as the other parts of Alsace—Mulhouse still excepted. Later, during the same reign, came the war of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), during which the Imperialists again penetrated into some parts of Alsace, besieged and took Haguenau, and levied heavy contributions until they were expelled by Marshal Villars.

In spite of wars and religious persecutions the material prosperity of Alsace increased in Louis XIV's

time.* Commerce expanded considerably during the ten years which elapsed between the Dutch and the Augsburg wars, and among the aristocracy, the upper *bourgeoisie*, and people of the educated classes generally, when these were Catholics, French ideas, tastes, and customs became more and more diffused, the literature of the *grand siècle* being particularly in great request. Only the narrow, bigoted policy of the King prevented a similar movement among the Alsatian Protestants. In the circumstances they were constrained to remain apart, and in their semi-seclusion the use of Germanic dialects and the practice of more or less Germanic customs persisted.

With respect to religious matters Louis XV's reign brought only one change of any importance, and that was more of a political character than anything else. By the Peace of Ryswick the see of Strasburg had been separated from the Empire, the Bishop ceasing to exercise any jurisdiction over the see's temporalities on the right bank of the Rhine; but in 1724, when the Duke of Bourbon was chief Minister in France, an arrangement was arrived at with the Empire by which the prelate was re-established in the aforesaid jurisdiction, with the right to sit and vote in the Diet by virtue of his German possessions. An extraordinary state of affairs again ensued. On the one hand the Bishop was and remained a member of the French Episcopacy, on the other he was at the same time a Prince-Bishop-Elector of the Empire. The anomaly was increased by the fact that since 1704

* At an early period of his reign Louis XIV substituted for the archducal regency of Ensisheim a royal Council at Brisach, whose judgments were sovereign. In 1698 this Council was transferred to Colmar. Its decrees began as follows: "We, the Governors and Councillors of the Council of Alsace and the Lands dependent thereon, as established by His Most Christian Majesty the King of France and Navarre, hereby signify and decree," etc.

the Bishop of Strasburg had been Armand Gaston of Rohan-Soubise, who by birth and lineage had no connexion whatever with Germany. Until the French Revolution the Strasburg bishopric became, as it were, a family fief of the Rohans, for three more of them followed Armand Gaston, the last being the Cardinal who was involved in the Diamond Necklace scandal. Thus four members of this famous Breton house became ex-officio Electors of the Empire.

The year 1741 brought with it the war of the Austrian Succession and an irruption of wild Hungarian cavalry into Alsace. The "Pandour alarm" (*Pandurenlärm*) scared many of the villagers, but when Menzel, who commanded these barbaric horsemen, issued a manifesto peremptorily summoning the Alsatians to return to their allegiance to the Empire they stoutly refused to do anything of the kind. On the contrary, when, in 1744, Marie de Mailly-Nesle, Duchess of Châteauroux—the one worthy woman among the many mistresses of Louis XV—prevailed on him to bestir himself and assume the command of his armies, he was received in Alsace as in Lorraine with the utmost enthusiasm. The sufferings and the discontent brought about by the religious policy of the Crown were at once forgotten, and all combined in wishing success to France. In those days, even when no war was being waged, a considerable garrison was kept in Alsace on account of its situation as a frontier province liable to attack. The presence of many French troops, their intercourse with the inhabitants, and the frequency with which young Alsatians enlisted—preferably in cavalry regiments, for although the region was never noted for its horses its men evinced great proficiency in horsemanship—all tended to the diffusion of French ideas and promoted assimila-

tion. The troops were under the command of a governor-general who resided at Strasburg, and was generally a Marshal of France. Marshal Saxe held the position for a number of years, and was succeeded by such men as Contades, Broglie, Stainville, and Rochambeau, the last named Lafayette's associate in the American War of Independence.

Under the old régime the French peasantry suffered terribly throughout the whole kingdom, the middle class, or Third Estate, was also heavily taxed, and possessed few if any rights, these being reserved for the nobles and the clergy. Favouritism, corruption, shameful abuses, denials of justice flourished on all sides, and Alsace did not escape the common lot. But its people were a hard-working, thrifty, energetic race, and contrived to endure their burdens better than the folk of some other provinces. Under an official named Klinglin, Strasburg prospered exceedingly in industry and commerce during several years of the eighteenth century, but somebody discovered one day that this admired prætor, to whom the flourishing state of the municipal finances was attributed, had embezzled large sums of money, which he was alleged to have shared with one of the powerful D'Argensons, who were Ministers of State at that time. I am uncertain as to the identity of the particular statesman involved in Klinglin's affair, but in any case he was beyond the reach of the irate burgesses of Strasburg. They were, however, able to arrest the less fortunate prætor, who was cast into prison and eventually executed by strangulation.

Now and again, at this period, Strasburg became the scene of sundry fêtes and rejoicings. In 1747 it welcomed to France the Dauphiness Marie Josephe of Saxony, who became the mother of Louis XVI, and

in like way in 1770 it received that future monarch's bride, Marie Antoinette. After the accession of the last King of the old régime the greater equity and tolerance shown to the Alsatian Protestants—an edict restored their civil rights in 1787—tended to increase the province's prosperity. At the Peace of Westphalia, which, it will be remembered, followed the Thirty Years' War, only 250,000 inhabitants were left in Alsace and the sum total yielded by the Crown taxes was but £48,000, paid with the greatest difficulty after incessant toiling and moiling. A hundred and forty years later—that is, in 1789 on the eve of the Revolution—notwithstanding all the losses caused by many more wars and much religious persecution, the population had doubled, and, according to Spach, one of the Alsatian historians, the people were able to pay £360,000 in taxation annually, "not," be it said, "without complaining, but at least without being absolutely crushed by the burden." The amount mentioned represented in a time of great general costliness and penury fully £1 per head for every man, woman, and child of the classes subject to Crown taxation—nobles, clergy, and others, including certain municipalities, like that of Strasburg, being exempted from such payment.*

As was the case in other parts of France, the heavy taxation, and the exactions and immunities of the privileged classes, constituted a very bitter grievance among the lower orders, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that when the States General of 1789 were convoked, the *cahiers* of the Alsatian Third Estate embodied a suggestion that Alsace should be restored to full independence. Throughout the province generally—as in Lorraine—the first events of

* See Clause VI of the Proposals of Illkirch in Appendix B.

the Revolution were enthusiastically received by the masses. But various disorders occurred. When the news of the taking of the Bastille reached Strasburg a mob invaded the town hall and pillaged it. One must acknowledge that the old constitution of the town, so highly praised by Erasmus, was one of a very exclusive kind, under which the so-called "common people" had hardly any rights at all, and it was this undoubtedly which fomented rioting and pillage. Much satisfaction was evinced when Jean François Rewbell, one of the Alsatian representatives in the States General, demanded the suppression of feudal and ecclesiastical privileges; and after the "Night of August 4," when the States, gathered together as a Constituent Assembly, abolished those privileges, the old semi-feudal, semi-aristocratic corporation of Strasburg realized that its time was up, and resigned office. A temporary administration was then installed, and a force of National Guards, that all but inevitable accompaniment to Revolution, established.

Nevertheless extremist passions did not yet prevail. Early in 1790 came municipal elections, which resulted in the selection of Baron Philippe Frédéric de Dietrich, Count of the Ban de la Roche, as mayor. He was probably a kinsman, if not a descendant, of the Dominique Dietrich of Louis XIV's time. An expert in mineralogy, he had previously acted as a Royal Commissary for mines, smelting-works, and forests. I had occasion to mention him in connexion with Rouget de l'Isle and the "Marseillaise."* Dietrich was a friend of Lafayette and Bailly, mayor of Paris, and like them he favoured a Constitutional Monarchy, his opinions in which respect brought him

* See p. 30, *ante*.

eventually to the scaffold in spite of the considerable services which he rendered in Alsace.

In June 1790 he presided at a great fête held to inaugurate the so-called Federation of the Rhine, when 20,000 armed men assembled at Strasburg, and when all the authorities took a solemn oath to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King, and to defend the new Constitution which had been set up. Later the National Assembly's decree ordering the sequestration of all ecclesiastical property led to great unrest among the Alsatian Catholics, and matters became worse when the prelates, priests, and others who refused to take the oath to the so-called Civil Constitution of the Clergy were deprived of their benefices. The Cardinal de Rohan, Bishop of Strasburg, fled across the Rhine to Ettenheim, a German dependency of his diocese, and afterwards busied himself there in collecting recruits for the army of *émigrés* who proposed to put down the Revolution.* At Strasburg Rohan was replaced by a certain Abbé Brendel, who took the oath of obedience, and became indirectly responsible for many horrible things which afterwards occurred in the town.

There was a dearth of priests willing to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and it occurred to Brendel to import a number from Germany. Among those who came was a certain Eulogius Schneider, born in the vicinity of Würzburg, then an ecclesiastical principality and now in the Bavarian dominions. Schneider had originally been a Franciscan, and was endowed with a gift of fiery eloquence. Before long, however, he threw off the mask of religion and became a leader of the extremists.

Different elections of those times show that a

* Rohan died at Ettenheim in 1803.

moderate Constitutionalism was largely favoured in Alsace, and particularly in its capital. At the same time there was no lack of patriotism, and when on April 20, 1792, war was declared on Austria, Dietrich at once set to work to organize defensive measures against any possible attack on the Alsatian capital. But events occurred which he and others would not countenance. Immediately after the Parisian insurrection of August 10, which led to the imprisonment of Louis XVI and his family, the municipality of Strasburg voted an address to the Government, demanding that the King's person should be regarded as inviolable. A few days later four commissaries arrived, suspended the audacious municipality from office, and ordered the arrest of Dietrich. He, however, contrived to escape to Basle, where he remained for a time in safety.*

Finding Constitutionalism so much in favour at Strasburg, the Government transferred the elections for the National Convention to Haguenau. The pace of the Revolution was then accelerated, and for a time the foreign menace became serious. In July 1793 the Prussians and Austrians under Brunswick and Würmser, after retaking Mayence from the French, entered Alsace. The forces under Custine and Beauharnais (Joséphine's first husband) had to retreat. The famous lines of Wissembourg, which had once saved France from invasion, were abandoned, and the enemy drove the defeated troops within gunshot of Strasburg. Great became the alarm there.

* He subsequently returned to France, and on being arraigned before the Tribunal of Besançon as an *émigré*, was acquitted. His enemies, however, contrived to have him removed to Paris, where he was sentenced to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal and executed on December 29, 1793. After Robespierre's fall seven months later, the National Assembly rehabilitated his memory.

It was alleged that the Germans had confederates in the town, and it is certainly true that at this time a number of *émigré* noblemen returned to Alsace and welcomed the invaders as deliverers.

Elogius Schneider, the ex-Franciscan whom I previously mentioned, now served as Public Prosecutor (*Accusateur public*) at the local Revolutionary Tribunal, and played on the smaller stage of Strasburg much the same part as Fouquier-Tinville played on the larger one of Paris. He had previously become the leader of a German Jacobin gang which had selected Alsace as a suitable field for its exploits. Besides perorating at the Jacobin clubs, Schneider founded a news-sheet entitled the *Argus*, and, allying himself for a while with a Savoyard Jacobin named Monet and a French one known as Laveau, who edited a paper called the *Courrier Français*, he steadily undermined the authority of Dietrich even before the affair of the address calling for royal inviolability. As Public Prosecutor Schneider cast off all restraint, demanding and obtaining whatever banishments, imprisonments, and executions he desired, but even as he sent others to the guillotine, so was he himself at last committed to the swift offices of that busy instrument.

Soon after the "suppression of Christianity" and the pompous celebration at Strasburg of the Feast of Robespierre's "Goddess Reason" (November 20, 1793)—that masquerade, be it remembered, was by no means confined to Paris—a split occurred between the French and the German Jacobins. The latter were alleged to be in collusion with *émigré* nobles, and judging by what is known of the German character, even in the case of pseudo-Socialists, it is quite possible that the charge was true. Now at this time

two Commissaries attached by the Convention to the Army of the Rhine arrived at Strasburg. They were zealous partisans and particular friends of Robespierre, one being the famous Louis de Saint-Just, who perished by the guillotine, and the other Joseph Lebas, who only escaped a similar fate by shooting himself. In order to provide some money for arrears of pay due to the Rhine army and for putting Strasburg in a better state of defence, they levied nine million *livres*—approximately £360,000—on the richer inhabitants, who had to provide the amount within four and twenty hours; and at the same time they ordered, at Schneider's instigation, the arrest of about forty persons.

However, Monet, the Savoyard, now mayor of the town, intervened, and nearly half of the arrested people were released, whilst Schneider, whom Monet and others denounced, was committed to prison. Various Alsatian writers praise Saint-Just for what he did in these matters. It was decided to send Schneider to Paris, but before his departure he underwent what was termed *exposition* on the scaffold, being pinioned to a stake, affixed to which, above his head, was a placard stating that he had "dishonoured the Revolution." On being tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal in the capital, he was charged with having made excessive use of the guillotine besides evincing aristocratic tastes and tendencies. He was ultimately executed on April 1, 1794.

At Strasburg a new Tribunal, in which French Jacobins became prominent, was instituted. Its methods differed little from those of its predecessor. Monet became all-powerful, and waged war on German Jacobins. The recall of Saint-Just and Lebas, and later the fall of Robespierre, altered the situation.

Foussedoire, the next Government representative, released many prisoners. Monet was removed from the mayoralty and replaced by Bernard of Türkheim. Reaction followed a period of excesses, and in 1795 the Jacobin party was defeated at the elections for the new legislature—that is, the Conseil des Anciens and the Conseil des Cinq-Cents—all the members for the Lower Rhine being moderate Republicans, whilst the Upper Rhine department returned former Conventionnels who had voted against Robespierre. Thus does the world go round, though, notwithstanding all the teachings of the past, the extremists of to-day appear to be unaware of it.

Rewbell the Alsatian was elected a member of the Directory entrusted with the government of France, and contended in favour of democratic, but not extremist, principles. He was a party to the *coup d'état* of the Eighteenth Fructidor (September 4, 1797) directed against the more reactionary members of the Councils, and became, with Barras and Larevellière-Lépeaux, one of the Triumvirate which afterwards exercised supreme power. But the régime proved deplorable. The French arms suffered numerous reverses, and the State was reduced to bankruptcy. In Alsace the period was marked by one notable event—Mulhouse at last severed the ties which linked her to Switzerland and joined the French Republic.

For many centuries the little town had formed, with some adjacent territory, a self-governing republican State, sometimes in close alliance with, sometimes virtually incorporated in, the Swiss Confederation; and, generally speaking, it had only taken part in Alsatian affairs when its own interests were in question. Its commercial intercourse with France, though

small, was constant, and its relations with the French authorities were generally satisfactory. Its inhabitants cordially detested the Germanic Empire, and in 1744, when Louis XV was besieging Freiburg im Breisgau, they dispatched a deputation to the castle of Münzingen, then his head-quarters, in order to compliment him. In like way they sent deputations to Strasburg to compliment the Dauphinesses Marie Josephe and Marie Antoinette on their arrival in French territory, and in 1777, three years after the accession of Louis XVI, they concluded a defensive military alliance with France and Switzerland.

In 1785, however, trouble arose. The empirical Calonne became Controller of French Finances, and projecting the formation of a new Compagnie des Indes, he prohibited the importation of foreign cotton goods. This threatened to nip, almost in their infancy, the cotton manufactures of Mulhouse, which since the establishment of the Kœchlin, Schmalzer, and Dollfus works in 1746 had been gradually expanding. The negotiations with the French authorities did not prove satisfactory, and Mulhouse again drew closer to Switzerland. Local restlessness and impoverishment followed the outbreak of the French Revolution. In 1789, by reason of severe frosts, the wine crop failed throughout Alsace. In the following year the harvest failed, and grain and flour could scarcely be obtained by the citizens of Mulhouse, for the Alsatian roads became unsafe, and wagons conveying cereals were often pillaged by famished peasants. The French authorities, moreover, alarmed by the shortage in their own territory, drew a cordon of barriers round about the little republic, and in one way or another subjected it to various vexations, so

that it seemed at last as if nothing could either come in or go out.

Mulhouse appealed to her Swiss friends, through whose offices some negotiations ensued, the upshot being a draft treaty by which she was to be allowed free communication with Alsace on condition that all stipulated duties should be paid on the goods which she might send into French territory. This draft or preliminary treaty was signed on September 22, 1791. But events were moving rapidly in France, urgent matters were crowding one upon another, the sorely shaken monarchy was tumbling faster and faster to its doom, and so the little affair of Mulhouse was neglected, virtually forgotten. Briefly, the treaty was never ratified. On the contrary, indeed, barely six weeks after the proclamation of the French Republic (September 21, 1792) Mulhouse was declared foreign territory, in such wise that no foodstuffs could be obtained from France without payment of heavy export duties.

Matters went from bad to worse. There was great scarcity in most parts of Europe. Virtually every nation had to husband its resources. In 1794 the people of Mulhouse had to pay seventy *livres* per *viertel*—perhaps one might say 66s. per quarter—for wheat. That may not seem so very high a price judged by present standards, but account must be taken of the purchasing power of money and its scarcity in those days. At last Mulhouse succeeded in obtaining some grain from Swabia, by way of Switzerland, but its inhabitants lived in constant anxiety, hoping vainly for better times. Further efforts were made to negotiate a satisfactory commercial treaty with France, but the Directory did not prove responsive. Yet matters could not remain as

they were; something had to be done if Mulhouse was to be extricated from its extremely difficult position.

The State Syndic at that time was Josué Hofer, and the Burgomaster his relation Johannes Hofer, and these two and a few others appear to have put their heads together and to have come to the conclusion that it would be best to take the same course as Strasburg had taken a hundred and seventeen years previously, and exchange independence for union with France. France had long been their chief customer, and from France they had derived most of their supplies, and all the barriers which had since arisen in those respects would necessarily disappear should Mulhouse become French territory. She could not claim to retain her ancient organization, as Strasburg had retained hers for a hundred years or so; for times had changed, and the French Republic had cast most ancient things to the winds. It would therefore be necessary to come under her new administrative methods. For the older men it was doubtless painful to relinquish the independence and the somewhat narrow social system transmitted to them by their forefathers, and to which they themselves had been accustomed all their lives. On the other hand, the change would mean reunion with all their fellow-Alsatians who had adopted a like course; and to the younger ones this change signified emancipation, extension of opportunity, a general broadening of life, participation in the destinies of a great nation which —in despite of many blunders, many acts of folly, even of madness and occasionally of savagery—had sowed in the course of its Revolution and was still sowing, however much its rulers might flounder, precious seeds, which, in days to come, would yield a

real increase of liberty and a vast improvement of social conditions in many lands.

The general Council and the Committee of Forty presiding over the destinies of the little republic were assembled, and the advisability of becoming united to France was discussed. The only conditions specified appear to have been exemption from the conscription, then newly established by the Directory,* from requisitions, and from the obligation of billeting troops until after the next general peace. On those terms 97 members of the assembly voted for union with France, only 5 votes being recorded against it. On the morrow (January 4, 1798) the decision was confirmed by a general assembly of burgesses at the Church of Saint-Etienne, when 591 pronounced in its favour and 15 against it. An Alsatian of Colmar afterwards came to Mulhouse as French Commissary to assist in adapting the local municipal arrangements to the French system. The formal ceremony of annexation took place on March 10, and in the historical museum of the town there was formerly preserved a tricolour hanging used on this occasion and bearing the inscription: "The Republic of Mulhouse reposes on the bosom of the French Republic."

At that time, says an Alsatian writer, the town had 38 streets, 800 houses, and 6000 inhabitants. If material prosperity be proof of the wisdom of such an action as the incorporation of Mulhouse with France, then that action was a wise one. Less than fifty years afterwards the town had so expanded that it

* The Directory's Conscription Law was very unpopular throughout France, where voluntary enlistment had previously prevailed, and, in conjunction with the forced Loan and the military reverses of the time, facilitated the overthrow of the régime by Napoleon on his return from Egypt. Those who hoped, however, that he might abolish conscription were soon undeceived.

counted over 20,000 inhabitants, and every day some 7000 working folk repaired to it from neighbouring villages.*

The accession of Napoleon to the Consulate was welcomed in Alsace. The re-establishment of religion pleased both the Catholic and the Protestant elements. The Concordat with Pius VII was signed in 1801, and the Protestant Church was recognized by a law passed early in the following year, its ministers being at first trained in a kind of seminary, though later a faculty of Protestant theology was established at Strasburg. Laws extending and regulating primary and secondary education proved very beneficial. Great services were rendered in educational matters by the Marquis de Lezay-Marnezia, a native of Savoy, who became Prefect of the Lower Rhine department. He began life in the diplomatic service of the old régime, and after contriving to survive the Reign of Terror became a protégé of Joséphine, who ultimately brought him to Napoleon's notice. Possessed of literary gifts, Lezay-Marnezia wrote on a number of political questions, translated Schiller's "Don Carlos," and edited a volume of apophthegms and epigrams extracted from the writings of Cardinal de Retz. Apart from those matters, he took, like the many-sided man he was, a keen interest in agriculture and industry. He introduced the cultivation of sugar-beet into Lower Alsace, as well as improved methods for cultivating and treating tobacco, from which Strasburg derived much benefit. He was also a great road-builder, and he widely encouraged the planting of fruit-trees. He was one of the best functionaries of his class that served Napoleon, and certainly the administration of Lower Alsace was never in better hands. I am uncertain

* See also pp. 22, 23, 43, 44, *ante*.

whether the first Restoration confirmed him in his post, but he died at Strasburg from the effects of a carriage accident in October 1814, when Napoleon was at Elba.

The Great Captain's victories inspired no little enthusiasm among the Alsatians. Many of his lieutenants came from that province and the adjacent one of Lorraine. The names of Ney, Lefebvre, Victor, Kléber, Lasalle, Drouot, Rapp, Kellermann, Lobau, Schramm, live in history, and there were numerous others, equally brave and devoted, and sometimes almost as able although less renowned. When after the Battle of Leipzig the Austrians, Prussians, Bavarians, and Russians crossed the Rhine and invaded France, several of the Alsatian and Lorrainer fortresses staunchly resisted the enemy, and none more desperately than Huningen, defended by the heroic Barbanègre. But the star of the Emperor set, and even at his first downfall in 1814 greedy Prussia, who had never had any connexion with Alsace, impudently laid claim to the province as the price of her services. It is interesting to note that Great Britain and Russia combined to resist Prussia's covetous demands and defeated them. In 1815, however, the predatory Hohenzollerns contrived to secure a part of the Saar valley, and Landau passed to Rhenish Bavaria.

Apart from those losses the Bourbons came to their own again. The first years of the Restoration were unhappy ones in Alsace. Foreign troops occupied most of the province. The harvests of 1816 and 1817 were scanty ones. Many food-stuffs and other necessaries reached exorbitant prices. Moreover, the Alsatians, with their liberal ideas, had little liking for the Bourbons, who during the years of their eclipse

had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Besides, now that the King was restored, many members of the Catholic clergy became unduly arrogant, imagining that they might henceforth do as they pleased. The Protestants were not exactly persecuted, but they were snubbed and cold-shouldered, particularly in the time of the bigoted Charles X, by a zealous officialdom. The trend of public opinion during the Restoration is shown by the election of one of the chief Liberal leaders of the period, Benjamin Constant, as deputy for Strasburg, and by the boundless enthusiasm with which another one, General Foy, was received when he visited Alsace.

Other circumstances tended to confirm the Alsatians in their Liberal views, which, it would be idle to deny it, were sometimes tinged with Bonapartism, kept alive by the numerous half-pay officers of Napoleon's armies who had been virtually exiled to the province. In those days Belfort was included in the Upper Rhine department. It belonged, indeed, to Alsace, and if so far I have only occasionally referred to it in this narrative, it is because I prefer to reserve a fuller account until I relate in a subsequent chapter the circumstances under which this fortress town was retained by France at the annexation of 1871. Here, however, it may be stated that in 1821, Louis XVIII reigning, Belfort became the chief scene of a conspiracy which had ramifications at Mulhouse, Neuf-Brisach, Huningen, and other places. The movement, directed against the Bourbons, was both of a semi-Liberal and a semi-Bonapartist character. Members of the wealthy Kœchlin family of Mulhouse were concerned in it and assisted it financially. Various Liberal parliamentary leaders, such as Manuel and Dupont de l'Eure, the famous jour-

nalist Armand Carrel, the brothers Scheffer, the painters, and General de Lafayette were likewise privy to the affair; but in other respects the contemplated rising was prepared chiefly by former officers of Napoleon. Scores of them, in all parts of Alsace, made ready during the last months of 1821 to join the rising, and a large number of soldiers, belonging notably to the garrisons of Neuf-Brisach and Belfort, could be relied upon for support.

Some of the forces were to seize and hold the passes of the Vosges, and others were to march on Colmar, then the capital of the Upper Rhine, arrest the royal authorities there, and use the town as a centre for future action. Now on the evening when the rising was to take place a number of the half-pay officers concerned in the affair dined together at Belfort. Many of the soldiers of the garrison knew or guessed that something was coming off that very night, and some of them even got ready to co-operate with the leaders of the plot. But a non-commissioned officer blundered badly by going to inform a royalist captain, who was not in the secret, that the men were ready. The captain was momentarily puzzled, but ended by divining the truth, and then hurried off to inform the *Commandant de place*, who, after a short delay, ordered the town gates to be closed. Meantime, however, the chief conspirators realized that the plot was discovered and took to flight. Lafayette, Armand Carrel, Henry Scheffer, the painter, and others were expected to reach Belfort that night, and some of those who escaped from the town hastened to intercept them, and warn them to turn back. This was done, Lafayette, who was met at Lure, making the return journey to Paris with the utmost speed in order that it might appear as if he had never left the

city. Briefly, all the real leaders escaped, and the Commandant of Belfort could only lay hands on two officers and two civilians, each of whom was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. It has been said that the failure of the conspiracy was due largely to the dilatoriness of Lafayette, who ought to have reached Belfort sooner.

The affair had a tragic sequel. In 1820 one of Napoleon's former officers, who had quitted the army, but was still known as Colonel Caron, had been acquitted on a charge of conspiracy tried by the Chamber of Peers, and had then retired to Colmar, where, after the collapse of the Belfort plot, he devised a scheme for delivering the prisoners. He was denounced, however, arrested and sent to Strasburg. His connexion with the army had been severed, nevertheless he was court-martialled and sentenced to be shot. This sentence was carried into effect on October 1, 1822, and Caron's remains were interred in the Strasburg cemetery of Saint-Urbain, outside the former Porte d'Austerlitz, where, after the fall of the elder Bourbon line, a stone was set up bearing the inscription: "Here lies Lieutenant-Colonel Caron who died for Liberty." * Both the method of his trial and his execution had a bad effect on public opinion. It was held strongly that he ought to have been arraigned before a civil court, which would have shown more leniency. Briefly, although there were no disturbances, the general dislike of the Bourbon régime was accentuated by this affair.

Charles X was even less popular than his brother Louis XVIII. Nevertheless, when he visited Stras-

* His Christian names were Augustin Joseph, and he was forty-eight years old at the time of his death. He had fought in several engagements, but his military career was somewhat obscure.

burg, Colmar, and Mulhouse in September 1828, he had—quite apart from the official celebrations—a very good reception, which was due, perhaps, to the circumstance that eighty-four years had elapsed since a King of France had shown himself in Alsace, though Napoleon, of course, had often passed that way. Charles X seldom if ever did the right thing when great issues were at stake, but in small matters he not infrequently showed to advantage. Thus, on being warned that he would find Mulhouse a hotbed of Republicanism, he replied: "In that case I must not take a military escort with me." And he abstained from doing so. The incident pleased the people of Mulhouse, who, after cheering the monarch, remarked to one another that, all considered, he was, perhaps, less black than he had been painted.

The Revolution of 1830 and the accession of Louis Philippe seemed to promise a genuinely liberal régime, and so the new King was well received when he visited Alsace the following year. But discontent was soon rife, and was fostered by the heavy taxation of the times. Not only were there frequent demonstrations in favour of the more democratic leaders, but Strasburg became the scene of more than one little conspiracy. It was probably a recollection of the military Imperialist plots of Restoration days that, in the autumn of 1836, prompted young Prince Louis Napoleon — subsequently Napoleon III — to choose the Alsatian capital for an attempt to proclaim the Empire with the help of the garrison. The affair proved a fiasco, and was dealt with so promptly by the authorities that, according to the diary of a Strasburg citizen now before me, the general public knew nothing about it until three days afterwards, when it was reported that Louis Napoleon, Colonel

Vaudrey of the 4th Artillery, and a few other persons, including the Prince's mistress, Mme. Gordon, were under arrest in the local house of detention. Some of the confederates, including Fialin, afterwards Duke de Persigny, managed to escape. The Prince, says the diarist I have mentioned, lodged in the Rue des Orphelins, next door to the Brasserie des Quatre-Vents, and a search made in his rooms resulted in the discovery of powder, cartridges, and uniforms, as well as a pair of general's epaulets. Mme. Gordon's lodging was at No. 17 Rue Fontaine, where she passed under the name of Brown.* The only officer who openly sided with the Prince was Vaudrey, whom I have mentioned, but it was five o'clock on a bleak morning when Louis Napoleon harangued the artillerymen at their barracks, and thus, apart from the colonel, who was privy to the affair, the officers were still lying snugly in bed. Some of the soldiers cheered, but others wavered, and the linesmen of the 26th Regiment would not join the movement, so that the attempt collapsed. Louis Napoleon was pardoned by Louis Philippe on consenting to go to America (where he remained for as short a time as possible), and the eleven days' trial of his accomplices in the ensuing month of January resulted in their acquittal. They were defended by some notable Parisian advocates, in whose honour, I observe, a banquet was given by a number of the leading people of Strasburg. This shows that Bonapartism was by no means dead there.

The system of elementary education in Alsace was again improved in 1837, and the French language spread more and more widely. This period was also

* I have given various particulars about this woman in my book, "The Court of the Tuileries, 1852-70." (Chatto and Windus.)

one of many improvements in means of communication. The first Alsatian railway line—that from Thann to Mulhouse—was opened in 1839. Two years later came one from Strasburg to Basle, and at the same time the line from Paris to Strasburg was begun. In 1834 the Rhône and Rhine Canal was inaugurated, being soon followed by that of the Marne and the Rhine and a branch canal connecting the Rhône waterway with the Ill. Meantime there was still a certain amount of unrest and some unpleasant bickering between Alsatian Catholics and Protestants. A writer named Busch was prosecuted for producing a book which the Jesuits regarded as libellous, but a Strasburg jury acquitted him.

In 1846 the question of Russian Poland came to the front in several countries, considerable feeling being displayed, particularly in France, respecting the deportation of many Poles to Siberia. Prince Metternich, then seventy-three years old, was still governing the various races of Austria with stubborn despotism, and Galicia being part of Poland, he thought fit to intervene apropos of the agitation which was taking place in France. He commissioned Count Apponyi, Austrian Ambassador in Paris, to inform Guizot, then Louis Philippe's chief Minister, that if this agitation did not cease, Austria would forcibly reannex Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Metternich's threats, being divulged, provoked violent protests from Strasburg and the other Alsatian towns. Nevertheless, the Austrian, German, and Russian Press embarked on a campaign of calumny, declaring that the French were not entitled to raise any Polish question as they treated the Alsatian people with abominable cruelty! There was not one word of truth in that assertion; and towards the end of 1846

a German writer named Biedermann, a professor at Leipzig University, published a book on Alsace, which he had repeatedly visited, and had the fairness and courage to declare that no cruelty whatever was shown to the inhabitants, whom he had found perfectly satisfied with their French nationality.

Considerable discontent undoubtedly prevailed, but it was common to all France. There was a great scarcity of cereals, the price of which became early in 1847 as high as it had been some thirty years previously, when two successive harvests failed. But this state of affairs was not peculiar to France. We ourselves had our "Hungry Forties" and our Corn Law agitation. As for Alsace, the municipalities did their utmost to provide for the public needs by buying grain and flour wherever possible, and fixing the price of bread at such a figure as to place the staff of life within reach even of poor consumers. The various transactions resulted in considerable losses to the municipalities, and these losses had to be met by increased taxation on the wealthier folk of the community. The poorer ones, however, were at least able to obtain bread. The municipality of Strasburg also started relief works—an empirical remedy, no doubt, but one which, for the time being, certainly provided a considerable number of people with the means of subsistence.

The cause of the general discontent among the masses, and also in part of the distress which arose in many parts of France, lay in the political system of the time. There was an extremely restricted franchise, in such wise that the bulk of the nation had no voice in its government. And yet less than half a century had elapsed since the dawn of the French Revolution. All the Liberal elements in France

embarked, then, on a great campaign for Reform, and Alsace took a notable part in it. The agitation increased when various cases of corruption and jobbery in high places were brought to light. Many more were suspected, and not without good reason. In the result, on February 24, 1848, Louis Philippe lost his throne, and the Second French Republic was proclaimed.

Once again Alsace became all enthusiasm. That same year was the bicentenary of the Treaty of Westphalia, which had acknowledged Alsace (Strasburg and Mulhouse excepted) as part of France. The Alsatians resolved to celebrate this memorable event by a number of great festivals. Whatever the historical circumstances might be, Strasburg and Mulhouse eagerly participated in these rejoicings. There were fêtes also at Colmar, Münster, Cernay, Thann, Wesserling, Schlestadt, Saverne, Barr, and other places. In a word, the whole province gave itself up to festivity. Thousands of National Guards assembled at Strasburg. Deputations poured in from Lorraine and other adjacent parts of France. Flags waved, music sounded, banquets were given, speeches delivered, and houses illuminated in the evening, when the lads and the girls, and older folk also, footed it merrily in the squares and crossways. Two symbolic groups figured in the great afternoon procession—one showing France and Alsace embracing, and the other Alsace, as warden of the frontier, proudly defending France. . . . Alas!

But the Second Republic reposed on no bed of roses. It was face to face with a most difficult situation, the outcome of all the mismanagement of Louis Philippe's time, and its Government undoubtedly made some deplorable mistakes. When

120,000 men of the National Workshops in Paris were cast adrift without means of subsistence, a fierce insurrection burst forth.* For four days the city was given over to bloodshed. General Bréa and his aide-de-camp were assassinated; Mgr. Affre, the Archbishop, was struck down on a barricade whilst exhorting the combatants to cease the fratricidal struggle. Cavaignac at last put down the rebellion, and became Chief of the Executive, with virtually dictatorial powers. Nevertheless there was ebullition in other parts of the country, Alsace included.

When Prince Louis Napoleon came forward as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic he found numerous Alsatian supporters. His foolish enterprise at Strasburg in 1836 and his equally foolish descent on Boulogne in 1840 were overlooked, condoned. At this time only forty-four years had elapsed since the foundation of the First Empire, only thirty-three since its final overthrow, only twenty-seven since Napoleon's death at St. Helena, and only eight since his remains had been brought back to Paris, and deposited, with much pomp and ceremony, under the dome of the Invalides. Thus the Proud Legend was still a living one, a halo still surrounded the Great Captain's name, many men whom he had led to victory were still living, time had only suffused his deeds and theirs with a glamour of phenomenal glory, and so France, in part carried away by the memory of mighty achievements, and in part tired of the sterile strife of parties and apprehensive of the wild enterprises of extremists, elected the heir of the Bonapartes as her President by

* Let our rulers profit by the lessons of history and be careful how, when the Great War ends, they treat the millions of workers now in Government or controlled establishments.

5,434,226 votes. Few of those voters imagined at the time that they were not giving themselves to another Napoleon the Great, but to a Napoleon the Little.

When the oath of fidelity to the Constitution was administered to the new Chief of the State, he answered, "I swear it." "I ask God to witness the oath which has just been taken," said the President of the Assembly. Then Louis Napoleon addressed the deputies, his first words being: "I should regard as enemies of the country all those who by illegal means should attempt to alter the form of Government which you have established." Yet in December 1851 came the *coup d'état*, and in December the following year the establishment of a Second Empire, which collapsed in the disaster of Sedan, leaving France to fight on as best she could in the hope of being able to save Alsace-Lorraine, which Bismarck bluntly told Jules Favre at Ferrières, soon after the Empire's fall, would be part of the price that must be paid for peace.

The policy pursued during Louis Napoleon's presidency indisposed many Alsatian Republicans, who participated in various little plots. From time to time there were perquisitions, arrests, and trials, which last, owing to the Liberalism of Alsatian judges and juries, generally ended in acquittals. In the summer of 1849 cholera raged in Alsace, where it carried off 20,000 people. In August the following year Louis Napoleon visited the province. He had just been badly received in Franche-Comté, Besançon positively hooting him. The Alsatians were more circumspect, and at Mulhouse, Colmar, and Strasburg contented themselves with crying "Vive la République!" They associated the Republican régime

with peace, and feared lest the re-establishment of the Empire should signify war—the consequences of which they, inhabiting a frontier province, would be the first to feel. It stirred the imagination to talk of the glories of the former Napoleonic period, but practical Alsatians, who remembered days of invasion, desired a peaceful régime. That view, indeed, was held in most parts of France, and Louis Napoleon knew it, and for that very reason delivered himself at Bordeaux of the famous apophthegm: *L'Empire, c'est la paix* ("The Empire will mean peace").

Although the Prince-President was already breaking his solemn oath to the Constitution, millions of people believed in the promise of Bordeaux. It quieted a thousand apprehensions and won over a mass of hesitating opinion. Moreover, there was a most reactionary majority in the National Assembly, and this inclined many Liberal people to support the President against the legislature. After the *coup d'état*, however, several Republican Alsatian deputies, including Kestner of Mulhouse and Edmond Valentin, who became Prefect of Strasburg during the memorable siege of 1870, as well as other prominent men, were arrested and exiled or deported. Other Republicans were able to escape into Swiss territory. Strenuous Government pressure was then exercised on every side. All kinds of promises, all kinds of threats were employed, in such wise that the plebiscitum taken to ratify the *coup d'état* resulted in favour of Louis Napoleon. In the whole province only 15,414 votes were officially recorded against him. I say officially, because in Alsace, as elsewhere, the ballot-boxes were tampered with in many localities. During the ensuing month of December the citadel of Strasburg thundered forth a salute of 101 guns in

honour of the proclamation of an Empire, which was to bring the direst misfortune upon all Alsace.

The rule of Napoleon III was never really popular in the Alsatian towns, but, as is well known, the Emperor laid himself out in all sorts of ways to please the peasantry throughout France, and in this matter he succeeded, in Alsace as in other provinces. The Strasburg municipality being, however, none to his liking, he arbitrarily revoked it in 1854 and appointed a commission to control the affairs of the town. Two years later the young Archduke Maximilian of Austria made a short stay in the Alsatian capital, having come to France on his first visit to Napoleon. The intercourse which ensued proved fatal to the Austrian prince, who, eight years later, was persuaded to become Emperor of Mexico, and in 1867, having been abandoned by his patron, was shot at Queretaro. Scarcely had he quitted Alsace in 1856 when a latent agitation became acute there. It was caused by a conflict which had arisen between the Swiss Confederation and the King of Prussia, then Frederick William IV, the monarch who was addicted to Clicquot champagne, and who, losing control of the little brains he possessed—Virchow averred that he had none at all—contracted the nasty habit of washing his face with his soup.*

In 1856 this monarch's fixed idea was to exercise his sovereign rights over the Swiss canton of Neufchâtel, which in 1815, with the county of Valengin, had been assigned as a principality to Frederick William III. However, during the great year of revolutions and insurrections, 1848, the Switzers of

* He died in 1861, when he was succeeded by his younger brother, the future Emperor William I (grandfather of the present Kaiser), who since 1857 had acted as Regent of Prussia.

Neufchâtel rose against their harsh Prussian masters, drove them out of the canton, and joined the Confederation. Frederick William IV was beset by so much trouble at home at this juncture that for the time he had to resign himself to the loss; but in 1853, resolving to assert himself, he once more seized the town with the help of sundry partisans, and set up the Prussian flag. But again were the Prussians and their adherents attacked by the Swiss of the rural districts, and whilst fifteen of them were killed and thirty wounded, three hundred were taken prisoners. Thereupon Frederick William threatened the Federal authorities, who refused, however, to recognize his claims.

The dispute became more and more embittered, and at last the infuriated Prussian king requested Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg to allow him to march an army of 135,000 men through their territory for the purpose of invading Switzerland. This created great agitation, even alarm, in Alsace, for it was known that France would not tolerate such an invasion. Thus war with Prussia might well ensue. The matter attracted some attention at the Peace Conference in Paris at the close of the Crimean War. Meantime the Swiss fortified their frontiers and assembled troops under the orders of General Dufour, the only general, I believe, that Switzerland has had in modern times—at least the highest rank in her army nowadays is that of colonel. The assistance of France having been solicited by the Swiss authorities, the Prussian monarch contented himself for the nonce with demanding the release of the prisoners held by the people of Neufchâtel. The latter refused the release unless Frederick William would renounce his pretensions. By French advice, however, the pri-

soners were set free unconditionally, and a conference of the Great Powers ensued in Paris in May 1857. Frederick William then demanded a large indemnity from Switzerland in return for the surrender of his rights. But Napoleon III, through his representative and illegitimate cousin, Count Walewski, hinted at a declaration of war, and as Prussia was not then prepared to encounter France in the field, the King gave way, and on the understanding that Switzerland should pay for the damage done to Prussian property during the insurrection, renounced his sovereignty over Neufchâtel.

A glance at a map will show how dangerous it would have been for France to have had such a Power as Prussia * installed on her Jurassian frontier, with easy access to Basle and Upper Alsace. It was therefore incumbent on her, in her own interest, to support the people of Neufchâtel and the Swiss generally. This affair, however, was one of the indirect causes of the war of 1870. As Bismarck said long afterwards: "Napoleon III would not let us have Neufchâtel. Well, we have taken Alsace, *quid pro quo*."

However sinister may have been the beginning and however tragical the end of the Second Empire, the intervening period was certainly one of steadily

* It is true that the principality of Neufchâtel was only a personal appanage and had nothing to do with the Prussian State; but enough has been said to show that Frederick William was prepared to employ all the resources of his kingdom, even to the point of seizing and holding this strip of Switzerland by force of arms. Thus the Swiss, even those of Germanic origin, have never had any liking for Prussia. The present Kaiser has shown himself so unscrupulous that should the Great War end in his favour (which Heaven forbid!) he would be quite the man to revive a claim to Neufchâtel, on the ground that no predecessor of his had a right to alienate a part of his inheritance. Louis XIV's "War of Devolution" was based on that theory, a very convenient one for those who regard solemn covenants as scraps of paper. Great Britain was a party to the cession of Neufchâtel in 1857.

increasing material prosperity. In 1852, the first year after the *coup d'état*, the various imports into France represented a value of £55,780,000. In 1869, the year before the Franco-German War, their value was £160,000,000. In the same period the exports rose from £67,200,000 to £159,760,000, this being the third year that their value was slightly inferior to that of the imports. The latter were only exceeded again in 1872, after the Franco-German War and the Commune, and the denunciation of the treaties of commerce. All kinds of industries and branches of commerce made great progress during the imperial period. For instance, whereas in 1852 the French pits only produced 4,904,000 metric tons of coal, in 1869 their output, in response to the ever-increasing demands of industry, had risen to 13,464,000 metric tons. The iron ore which was raised and smelted doubled in quantity between the years I have mentioned. In 1869 the output in metallurgical industry was valued at nearly nineteen millions sterling, or about £7,700,000 more than in 1852. There were great increases in other industries.

I find also that whereas in 1853 the total length of the French railway lines was but 2568 miles, it had become 10,750 miles in 1869. As for the postal receipts, a good test of a nation's commercial activity, these increased from £1,861,000 in 1852 to more than £3,785,000 in 1869. Take another test: French manufacturers and tradesfolk pay a fixed tax called a *patente*, a licence as it were. In 1852 this tax produced £1,485,000, and in the last full year of the Empire £2,581,000. Finally, in 1869 the nation was able to pay more than 23 millions sterling in direct State taxation, against 16½ millions paid at the advent of the Empire; and the total receipts of the

French Treasury exceeded £78,472,000, whereas seventeen years previously they had been rather less than £59,494,000.

The foregoing paragraph may appear irrelevant to my subject. But I would point out that Alsace participated largely in France's increased prosperity. In this connexion some account was given in a former chapter of the development of trade at Mulhouse. Moreover, I have quoted the foregoing figures because whilst censuring the Second French Empire from the standpoint of political morality, it is only fair that I should make some mention of its one redeeming feature. But a nation's material prosperity is not everything in its life. Great was our prosperity before the present war began, and some folk wished us to rest content with clinging to it and "capturing German trade," instead of joining in the immortal fray for the world's freedom. We preferred, however, to cast our prosperity and our resources, as well as our arms, into the Scales of Justice, and in doing so we took the only course befitting men of honour.

I frankly admit, then, the great material prosperity of France under her Second Empire. The figures I have given, and which are extracted from various issues of the official *Annuaire statistique de la France*, may seem small at the present day, but they have to be considered in connexion with the general wealth and requirements of the period to which they apply. From time to time there were, naturally enough, various set-backs. Financial scandals and heavy failures occurred, and in 1863 Alsace suffered from the collapse of some important houses. Three years later there was unrest, anxiety, even alarm, in connexion with the war between Prussia and Austria, which, although a brief one—it is known as the

Seven Weeks' War—quite transformed the condition of affairs in Germany, making Prussia its predominant Power. Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie were to have visited Strasburg that year, but the threatening situation kept them in Paris.

Two years later a notable personage, mentioned in connexion with the Neufchâtel affair, passed away at the Hôtel de la Ville de Paris in the Alsatian capital. This was Count Walewski, who had succeeded the Duke de Morny, Napoleon III's illegitimate half-brother, as President of the Corps Législatif. Walewski himself was an illegitimate son of Napoleon I, and if ever the modern Conqueror stamped his likeness upon any child of his, he did so in Walewski's case. The resemblance was striking both in face and in figure. Had it been possible to imagine Napoleon in "mufti," you would have said on seeing Walewski: "There he is!" Prince Napoleon Jerôme certainly had the Napoleonic face, but he was a much bigger man than the Emperor. At the same time Walewski differed from his father in disposition and in manners. These he derived from his mother, the beautiful Polish countess who was one of the few women that really loved Napoleon. In a word, the son was urbane, soft-spoken, a perfect gentleman in his ways. After serving for a short time in a regiment of hussars he had entered the diplomatic service during the reign of Louis Philippe. Had he lived longer he might possibly have arrested the Empire on the downward course which it took after his death.

From 1866 onward Alsace ranged itself largely on the side of the parliamentary Opposition to the Empire. In a comparatively recent book of mine, "In Seven Lands," * I mentioned a few incidents in

* Chatto and Windus, 1916.

the Alsatian history of this period, and it may be allowable for me to refer to them again here. After the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, a zealous propaganda in furtherance of German claims on Alsace-Lorraine was carried on in Germany by means of geographies and histories, which designated Alsace, particularly, as a lost land which it was the duty of every patriotic German to recover and redeem. No regard was shown for real history or for former treaties, covenants, and cessions. The circumstances under which Strasburg became French territory were absolutely falsified, whilst those attending Mulhouse's union with France were conveniently ignored. The theory started in the forties, that the Alsatians were persecuted by the French, was revived. "Yonder, near the Vosges," wrote a German versifier, "a lost treasure lies. There must German blood be freed from hellish sway." A man named Richard Boeck particularly distinguished himself by his ardour in claiming Alsace for Germany. In the province itself, one must admit—it would be absurd to shirk facts—that there existed a small party of clericals, both Catholic and Protestant, who without daring to go so far as to advocate annexation to Germany, did their utmost to resist the further diffusion of the French language.* A Strasburg *curé* named Cazeaux and a pastor called Baum based their objections to French on religious and moral grounds. It had been, said they, the language of the infidel Voltaire, and it was that of the Parisians, who were steeped in vice and corruption.

The French capital certainly offered numerous scenes of folly and depravity. But people dwelling at a distance, and trippers bent on having a "good

* These matters are dealt with more fully in my seventh chapter.

time" in the midst of coarse pleasures, have long misjudged the great city. To them Paris has meant the Boulevards, the *caboulots* of Montmartre, the *brasseries* of the Quartier Latin, the Moulin Rouge, the Chat Noir, the Bal Bullier, and so on. For them, those places and similar ones, and the phases of life to be observed there, have signified everything. It is as though London were judged by the standard of Piccadilly and Coventry Street, Ciro's and other swagger dens. In the case of Paris, those who in a spirit of Puritanical fanaticism have denounced it as the modern Babylon have overlooked the fact that it is far more a city of strenuous work, a city of many manufactures, of learning, art, invention, and discovery, contributing powerfully to the advancement of mankind. The sectarian Alsatians to whom I have referred made a similar mistake. In their denunciations of Paris, whatever solicitude they may have affected for their respective flocks, they were helping on the designs of Germany, and it is quite possible that they were incited to the course they took by German gold. There is not a shadow of a doubt that directly Bismarck had settled accounts with Austria he prepared for a war with France for the express purpose of seizing Alsace-Lorraine.

Whilst attempts were being made to create a current of pro-German opinion in Alsace two famous authors were conjointly producing a series of works which, whilst picturing Alsatian manners and customs in former times, gave vivid glimpses of the sufferings caused by warfare even when it was waged with success as well as when it became invasion on the part of a ruthless enemy. These authors were Emile Erckmann, a native of Phalsbourg, and Alexandre Chatrian, born at Soldatenthal, localities situated on

the confines of Alsace and Lorraine. The works of Erckmann-Chatrian, notably the series called "Les Romans Nationaux," breathed a spirit of attachment to France. Written in French, they were translated into many languages, and sold widely all the world over. I find that in some instances editions in German were prepared expressly for circulation in those rural districts of Alsace where the knowledge of French was more or less restricted. In that connexion it may be mentioned that in 1870 considerably more than a third of the population of Alsace was as conversant with French as with German, reading and writing both languages, and that the former one was making more and more headway every day among the younger generations. In such a matter the Imperial Government ought to have let well alone; but at one period it made the mistake of trying to force French upon the inhabitants of little out-of-the-way hamlets to the absolute exclusion of the Germanic dialects to which they were accustomed.

At last came the war of 1870. In another chapter I shall say something respecting the engagements which were fought and the sieges which occurred in Alsace and Lorraine, and also respecting the conduct of the German commanders and soldiers there, and the attitude of the invaded population. Here I will only add a few remarks. When the question of declaring war arose in the French Corps Législatif all the Alsatian deputies, excepting two, voted for it, though they represented various shades of political opinion. As a matter of fact, owing to the machinations of Bismarck, war could not, at that moment, have been averted, unless, indeed, France had been prepared to grovel in the very dust at the feet of Prussia. That she could not, would not, do.

The small minority which voted against the war did so mainly to mark their opposition to the Empire, their distrust of its policy, at the same time well knowing that their votes could not even delay hostilities for a moment. The Alsatian deputies, by ranging themselves on the side of the majority, at least proclaimed their solidarity with the bulk of the legislature and the antipathy with which they regarded Prussia. Very few and far between, moreover, were those Frenchmen who then feared that their armies might incur reverses. Not one in ten thousand imagined that there was anything seriously amiss with the Empire's military organization. Thiers had some misgivings, but Gambetta—declared adversary of the Empire though he was—confidently anticipated victories, which, welcome as they would prove to French patriotism, would at the same time unfortunately consolidate the régime born of the *coup d'état*. As we all know, the sequel was very different.

V

THE STORY OF LORRAINE

(From Early Times to the Last Native Dukes)

Early period : Extent of the Kingdom of Lotharingia : Beneficiary and Hereditary Dukes : Disruption of the Kingdom : Suzerainty of the Emperors : Union of Bar and Lorraine : The House of Anjou : Evolution towards France : The Three Bishoprics—Metz, Verdun, and Toul : French Occupation of Lorraine : Vicissitudes of Charles IV : The Last Dukes : The Metz Jews : Offences and Penalties : Taxation and Industry : Duke Leopold's Rule : Francis III exchanges Lorraine for Tuscany.

It is unnecessary for me to sketch the history of Lorraine as fully as I have sketched that of Alsace, for whereas the Germans annexed the whole of the latter province in 1871, they took only a portion of Lorraine, such as it had become in modern times, and their motives for this appropriation were not the same as those which they alleged in the case of Alsace. In regard to Lorraine, indeed, they were more mindful of strategical and industrial considerations than of the various ethnographical grounds set forth as reasons for annexation by the pedantic professors of their universities. According to the Pan-Germanists there is hardly a country in the world to which their nation cannot assert some kind of claim. As certain Saxons settled in our country long ago, England ought to be an appanage of Germany. As a Germanic race called the Franks overran Gaul, modern France ought also to be a German dependency. Hitherto, however, instead of claiming the country in its entirety the Germans have been considerate enough to

nibble at it, just appropriating frontier parts at convenient opportunities. The Pan-Germanic claims in regard to Lorraine, or rather the old kingdom of Lotharingia, would provide a pretext for seizing a great deal of territory forming not only part of France but of other countries also. When in 855, six days before his father's death, Lothair II came into possession of the Lotharingian kingdom which had been carved out of parts of Charlemagne's Empire, he found himself in the possession of the following lands, of which, in order to facilitate identification, I give the modern names: In Switzerland, the Valais and the Genevois, the cantons of Freiburg, Soleure, and Berne, and the diocese of Basle. In the Netherlands, Liége, Limburg, Brabant, Guelders, Namur, Hainault, Utrecht, and Zeeland. In Germany itself, the Palatinate west of the Rhine, with Treves and Cologne. Next Luxemburg and Alsace; and in modern France, Bar, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté. Moreover, in the year 863, on the death of his younger brother Charles, Lothair inherited Provence, the Lyonnais, the Viennois, the Vivarais and the Pays d'Uzès. In later times one finds some of the Germanic Emperors styling themselves Kings of Provence and Kings of Arles, and some of the original Dauphins acknowledged the Imperial suzerainty. Thus the zealous Pan-German, bravely defying ridicule, asserts: "This, that, and the other ought to be ours. They belonged to us not long after the Year One; I can prove it by ancient Chronicles!"

When Lothair II—a somewhat disreputable prince who put away his wife in order to live in dalliance with a mistress, on which account he was excommunicated by one of the Popes—died in 869, his dominions were appropriated by his uncle Charles the Bald.

Charles's brother, Louis the Germanic, compelled him, however, to divide the territory. Afterwards, Louis dying, Charles seized all his States, but had to share them with Louis' son called "the Saxon." Later, a certain Hugh, Duke of Alsace,* and the illegitimate offspring of Lothair II by his mistress Waldreda, claimed the Lotharingian kingdom, but was defeated and had his eyes put out. Henry of Franconia had then become by imperial appointment Duke of Lorraine. After Charles the Fat had been deposed in 887 this State, like Alsace and Germany, passed to his nephew Arnoul or Arnulf, and then to the latter's natural son Swentibold, of whom I previously gave some account.† On Swentibold's downfall the Lorrainers virtually handed themselves over to Charles the Simple, King of France. Thus there were many fluctuations. Lothair's former kingdom had few natural frontiers and no ethnical basis, peopled as it was by a variety of races. In the lands, however, to which the name of Lorraine became applied in more modern times it may be taken that the Celto-Gallic element prevailed over that of the Germanic intruders. Scientists claim that a brachycephalic type of skull, which was that of the ancient Gauls, has always predominated among the Lorrainers.‡ On the other hand, the country became at an early date a source of much contention and strife between France and Germany. Both claimed control over it, but undoubtedly the first sovereigns of the so-called Holy Roman Empire appointed the Dukes by whom the territory was governed, and these Dukes became the only effective rulers.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, however, there

* See p. 67, *ante*. † See p. 67, *ante*.

‡ This matter is dealt with more fully in chapter vii.

were several invasions. Attila's hordes had overrun the country at the close of the Gallo-Roman period, and on seizing Metz had destroyed nearly all its Roman edifices of any note. The years 910, 917, 926, and 927 witnessed the irruption of other barbarians, who are also called Huns by some of the old chroniclers. Thus the nobles who attempted to rule Lorraine enjoyed no easy times. At last the Emperor Otho the Great, after appointing, first, Henry Duke of Saxony, and, secondly, Conrad the Red, Duke of Rhenish France, to govern the territory, removed the latter and bestowed the dignity on his own brother Bruno, who was then Archbishop of Cologne. Bruno divided the different regions into Upper and Lower Lorraine, and ranking as a kind of Archduke, appointed various subordinate dukes to administer different parts. He created, for instance, a Duke of Brabant and a Duke of Liége, and placed Frederic or Ferry I, Count of Bar, son of a count or mayor of the palace of the time of Charles the Simple, at the head of Upper, otherwise French, Lorraine. Bar, be it said, comprised most of the Meuse country between French Lorraine and Champagne, and Ferry had married Beatrix, sister of Hugh Capet, the founder of the French Capetian dynasty.

The dukedoms which I have mentioned were simply benefices held only for life or during good behaviour; but in later times the fact that a member of one or another house had been placed at some period or other at the head of some particular duchy gave rise to all sorts of claims, which not unfrequently were fought out on the battlefield. Moreover, according to the relative power of the French or the German rulers one or the other exercised the right of appointment to these dukedoms, and at some moments great con-

fusion prevailed as to who might really be the rightful duke.

When Bruno divided Upper from Lower Lorraine the former included all French Lorraine and some additional territory. The second comprised most, if not all, of modern Belgium, together with the Moselle and part of the Rhenish country. Most of Lower Lorraine became known later as the Duchy of Brabant, which in 1089 the Emperor Henry IV bestowed on the famous Godefroy de Bouillon, of the First Crusade. Brabant afterwards became a hereditary duchy, and ultimately passed to the Burgundian house. The position was complicated, however, by the fact that the chief bishops of Lower Lorraine—those of Utrecht, Treves, Cologne, Metz, Liége, Verdun, etc.—gradually became more and more independent and increased the territorial possessions of their sees. Like the Dukes themselves they were immediate feudatories of the Empire, though the Archbishops of Treves endeavoured to exercise temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction over other prelates.

Hugh Capet, on coming to the front in France, had considerable trouble in asserting his supremacy there, and therefore gave little attention to the fate of either Upper or Lower Lorraine. It would seem, however, that a grand-nephew of his, called Albert of Alsace, was appointed Duke of Upper Lorraine by the Emperor Henry III in 1046. From Albert's time, or rather that of his son Gerard, styled Count *in*, not *of*, Alsace, the duchy became hereditary. Gerard appears to have owned several lordships in Upper Lorraine and these gave him some sort of claim to succeed his father in the ducal dignity, but according to one account he did not do so by right of birth, but assembled the Lorraine nobles to confirm him in the position.

Gerard died in 1070, and from that time until the earlier part of the fifteenth century his heirs in tail male continued to rule Upper Lorraine. Charles, called the Bold, who succeeded in 1391, lost both his sons while they were still young. He had, however, two daughters, named respectively Isabella and Catherine. The latter married a Margrave of Baden, and Charles selected Isabella as heiress of Lorraine. To carry this plan into effect he convoked the chivalry of the duchy, and on December 13, 1425, the eighty-four nobles who attended the gathering signed a covenant declaring that in default of direct heirs male the duchy should pass to the nearest female member of the reigning house. Isabella took as her husband René of Anjou, who at this time held the adjacent duchy of Bar.

Bar also was a State in which female succession was acknowledged. This had occurred as far back as 1027 when a Duchess Sophia exercised governing rights there under French suzerainty. She married a Count of Mousson and Montbéliard of the same stock as the early Counts of Ferrette, who were mentioned in my sketch of Alsatian history.* Sophia's line lasted until the early years of the fifteenth century, when Bar (raised from the rank of a county to that of a duchy by John of France in 1355) was held by a certain Duke Robert. He was followed by his brother Louis, Cardinal Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, who surrendered the duchy to his grand-nephew René of Anjou, husband of Isabella of Lorraine. Anjou had undergone many vicissitudes since the days when John Lackland lost it. From the French crown it had passed, with Maine, to Charles, the younger brother of Saint Louis. Later, a son of

* See pp. 77, 78, *ante*.

Philip the Hardy of France had married the heiress. Afterwards had come a son of John of France, named Louis, whose eldest grandson, Louis III, died without posterity, whereupon his younger brother René succeeded both to Anjou and to Maine, as well as to the county of Provence and the claims of the Angevin line to the kingdom of Naples. The last named he never secured, nevertheless he lives in historical romance as the good King René.

As I have shown, he was by descent a prince of the House of France, and indeed from the time of Albert and Gerard of Alsace, who were Capetians, down to the reign of King Stanislas the territory now known as Lorraine was always ruled by French Princes. Before René's time, in fact as far back as the eleventh century, Bar and Lorraine had often been at variance, the rulers of these duchies generally being quarrelsome, pugnacious men. The union of the two little States seemed to offer promise of a better future. Isabella and René had to contend, however, in regard to Lorraine, against a junior branch of that duchy's house, represented by the Count of Vaudemont, who attempted to assert his claims by force of arms, but failed in his endeavour. The Angevin dynasty resided little in Lorraine. It took less interest in this tangible possession than in its claims on Naples and Sicily. Whilst, however, its members were fighting abroad they confided the authority in Lorraine to various regents, whose administration was generally meritorious. There had previously been a period when the Lorraine communes had asserted themselves and ended by securing a considerable degree of autonomy. Powerful corporations had also sprung up, to the great advantage of the Third Estate. By a charter

which René granted in 1448, the glass-workers of Lorraine were assimilated to the nobility.

In 1453 René surrendered Lorraine and Bar to his eldest son John, who married Marie de Bourbon, and left the duchies to their son Nicholas. A junior branch afterwards succeeded, its first Duke, René II, becoming historically famous as the adversary of Charles the Rash of Burgundy, who made a wild attempt to reconstitute some such kingdom of Lotharingia as that which had been formed at the dismemberment of Charlemagne's empire. Charles at first overran the greater part of Lorraine and even seized the town of Nancy, but in February 1477 he was slain in a memorable battle fought outside the town walls. René II afterwards endeavoured to assert the Italian claims of his house, but failing in that enterprise he virtually renounced warfare and set himself to consolidate the States he had inherited.

I mentioned previously that at quite an early date many bishoprics of the original Lorraine had made themselves virtually independent. Two of these sees, Metz and Toul, were *enclaves* in René's territory. A third, Verdun, was on its confines. The Duke contrived to get control of these dioceses by securing that of Toul for one of his uncles, and those of Metz and Verdun for his third and fourth sons. In one way and another he extended his sway considerably, and to increase the influence of his house abroad he ordered that all younger sons should only inherit or acquire fiefs outside the duchies. He also showed great prudence in his relations with France and Germany; and at last in 1542 a convention was signed at Nuremberg between his son and successor, Anthony, and the Emperor Charles V, by which the latter acknowledged the independence

of the duchy of Lorraine, the imperial suzerainty being limited to the marquisates of Pont-à-Mousson and Hattonchâtel, the counties of Blamont and Nomeny, and the so-called *garde* of Toul and *avouerie* of Remiremont.

At this period the whole tendency of Lorraine policy was to shake off as far as possible all connexion with Germany. After Duke Anthony's son Francis, who reigned only a year, came in 1545 his grandson Charles III, known to Lorrainers as the Great. As a child he was taken to France, where Henri II married him to his daughter Claude. Charles had several relatives in France. His predecessor, René II, had held numerous lordships there, and in pursuance of his policy to have his younger sons provided for outside Lorraine and Bar, he left the counties of Guise, Aumale, Joinville, Mayenne, and Elbœuf to his fifth son Claude of Lorraine, who was afterwards raised to the rank of Duke of Guise, and became the progenitor of that famous house. In 1552, at the time of Charles III of Lorraine, Henri II of France contrived to secure possession of the Three Bishoprics—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—as I mentioned in an earlier chapter.* It was the famous Marshal Anne de Montmorency who obtained possession of the city of Metz, the Catholic elements of its population, headed by the Bishop himself, Mgr. de Lenoncourt, assisting in the enterprise. It may be added that Henri II had previously signed a treaty with Maurice of Saxony authorizing him to establish himself in the towns which "anciently belonged to the Empire, but which were not of Germanic speech." Henri II made a solemn entry into Metz in April 1552; but the Emperor Charles V was not unnaturally furious, and in

* See p. 47, *ante*.

the following month of October he besieged the city with a great army. As I related in my account of Metz* he had to withdraw, after suffering great losses, on the ensuing first of January. Henri II contented himself with assuming the title of Protector at Metz, Verdun, and Toul, but his third son and successor, Henri III, entitled himself Sovereign Lord of those towns. It must be admitted that whilst France continued to exercise effective sway in the Bishoprics her right to do so was not formally acknowledged by the Germanic Empire until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, when it was agreed that Metz, Toul, and Verdun should remain possessions of the French Crown. The Duchy of Lorraine not having then been united to France, the Bishoprics, although separated from one another by intervening strips of territory, were incorporated as a French province, that of "Les Trois-Evêchés."

In all probability if the Guises had not been so powerful, and Henri III of France so extremely weak, all Lorraine would have been joined to France in the sixteenth century. Duke Charles sided with his relatives the Guises and the famous Catholic League against the effete Henri III. Adherents of the League garrisoned Metz, Verdun, Mézières, Toul, and other towns. There was no war declared with the Empire, but German Protestants allied themselves with some of the Protestants of Lorraine, and the duchy became the scene of hostilities. The great struggle of that period was semi-religious and semi-political. On the one hand the Leaguers wished to stamp out the Protestant religion, on the other there was contention for the crown of France. Duke Charles of Lorraine wished to obtain that crown for his son

* See p. 48, *ante*.

Henri, and if by virtue of descent the claims of the House of Lorraine could be regarded as superior to those of the House of Bourbon (represented by Henry of Navarre), the senior representative of Lorraine was assuredly more entitled to the reversion of Henri III's crown than any junior representative, such as Henri Duke de Guise. The latter, however, aspired to become King of France, and in conjunction with his immediate kinsmen he opposed Charles's pretensions. Guise was assassinated at Blois in 1588 and Henri III at Saint-Cloud in the following year. War still continued, however, between France and Lorraine until in 1595 Duke Charles signed a treaty of peace with the Navarrese Henri IV at Folembray. During the hostilities the Duke of Lorraine had taken the towns of Stenay and Dun-sur-Meuse, and their possession was confirmed to him at the peace.

Charles's son, Henri II of Lorraine, at one time the parental candidate for the throne of France, had to content himself with marrying the new King of France's sister, Catherine of Bourbon, with whom he did not live on particularly good terms, for he was a Catholic and she a very zealous Huguenot—one who boldly told her brother that she would not abjure her faith for any kingdom in the world. In spite, however, of matrimonial bickerings, she bore her husband two daughters, one of whom, named Nícole, was married to a nephew of her husband named Charles. By his will Henri II of Lorraine specified that Nicole and her husband should reign over the duchy conjointly—this arrangement being similar to that arrived at in Great Britain, at a later period, in the case of our William and Mary, the last named being Queen Regnant and not merely Queen Consort. In the case

of Lorraine, however, a kind of comedy was acted in order to upset the will of Henri II. His nephew Charles abdicated in favour of his own father, Francis of Lorraine, who thereupon took possession of the ducal throne. Francis occupied himself in paying off some huge debts left by his predecessors, notably his father Charles the Great, and then in his turn abdicated in favour of his son. In this way Nicole was frustrated of her sovereign rights.

Trouble ensued with France over this matter, particularly as Charles repudiated Nicole, and moreover he aided and abetted the rebellion of Gaston of Orléans against Louis XIII. He not only supplied Gaston with an asylum, but gave him his sister Marguerite in marriage. Later he openly allied himself with the German and Spanish enemies of France. War ensued, and Louis XIII besieged and took Nancy, which offered very little resistance to his forces. Louis, however, regarded his exploit as a glorious one, and requested Jacques Callot, the famous artist, to depict the surrender in an engraving. But Callot, who was a native of Nancy, boldly replied: "'I would rather cut off my thumb than do so." In 1632 Duke Charles was at last constrained to sign a peace with France, by which he covenanted to allow French forces free passage across the duchy, and to renounce all alliance with her enemies. But he did not keep his word, and before long fresh trouble arose in such wise that in 1634 he abdicated in favour of his brother, Cardinal Nicholas Francis of Lorraine, whom France, however, declined to recognize. As Nicholas, though a Cardinal, was not a priest, he married Claude, the sister of the discarded Nicole, in the hope of thereby fortifying his authority. But Richelieu instructed the Duke de La Force, who commanded in Lorraine for

France, to arrest the newly married pair, and they were shut up in the ducal palace at Nancy, whence, however, they managed to escape under dramatic and picturesque circumstances.

They joined Duke Charles, who had fled to Germany, and Richelieu was left master of Lorraine. He appointed French governors in the place of the officials of Duke Charles, garrisoned the towns with French soldiery, and instituted at Nancy a Sovereign Court of Lorraine, which many of the native nobility willingly entered, as Charles by his foreign alliances had made himself extremely unpopular among them. His wife Nicole, whom he had repudiated in 1637, sought a refuge in Paris. He himself experienced many further vicissitudes. Until 1642 he continued waging war as best he could. In that year, however, he signed a treaty acknowledging as *Duc-client* the patronage of France. Afterwards he disputed this arrangement and again quitted Lorraine, whereupon France, showing less reserve than previously, appointed an intendant to administer the duchy. The capture of the fortresses of La Mothe and Longwy finally made the French supreme masters there. Charles, who fell out with his allies the Spaniards, was arrested by them and detained for five years at Antwerp. He was not included in the Treaty of Westphalia, but by that of the Pyrenees he was restored to a part of his States. France retained the Clermontois in the Argonne, Stenay, Dun, and Jametz, and also for a time the Duchy of Bar, which was ultimately returned to Charles by a convention signed at Vincennes. In 1663, however, Charles had to hand Marsal over to Louis XIV. Moreover, when the latter declared war on Holland, being by no means sure of the neutrality of Lorraine, he again occupied the duchy, and his

distrust was justified by the immediate departure of Charles to join the enemies of France.

I have mentioned that this Duke of Lorraine had repudiated his wife Nicole. He did so in order to marry a beautiful young woman named Béatrix de Cusance, widow of the Prince de Cantecroix, and he took this course with the approval of a Jesuit Father named Cheminot, who held that his marriage with Nicole was null and void as he had been "constrained to it" by the will of his uncle, the bride's father. But in 1639 Pope Urban VIII annulled Charles's marriage with the Princess de Cantecroix, and declared their children—a son and a daughter—to be illegitimate. Nevertheless, Béatrix clung to Charles, and shared his adventurous life, invariably accompanying him to the wars, and thereby becoming known as his *femme de campagne*. Later, the Duke (Nicole having died) married Béatrix by deputy, as she lay on her death-bed. But he was already carrying on an intrigue with the young Countess de Ludres, a canoness of the Abbey of Poussay, who subsequently became, for a short time, one of the mistresses of Louis XIV. Charles promised to marry the Countess, but never did so. Constrained in later years to live in Paris, he there became infatuated with a certain Marianne Pajot, an apothecary's daughter, and with this girl he actually went through a form of marriage. But the union was dissolved by the Parliament of Paris in consequence of the united protests of the Houses of Bourbon and Lorraine. Ultimately, a mere child, Louise Marguerite, daughter of the Count d'Apremont-Nanteuil, was thrown in the amorous old Duke's way, and in July 1665 (he then being sixty-two years of age) he was married to this girl who was just entering her teens. No children were born of the

union.* This particular Charles of Lorraine was a singular compound of energy and weakness. He was an extremely brave man, but possessed no stability of character, and by his constant changes of policy he contributed more than any other prince of his line to destroy the independence of his States.

He was succeeded in 1675 by his nephew Charles V, son of Cardinal Nicholas Francis and Claude. This duke, a very handsome man, also had several love affairs, notably with Marie Mancini, the Princess Marguerite Louise of Orléans, and the Grande Mademoiselle de Montpensier. The French still occupied Lorraine, and as Charles V would not subscribe to the Treaty of the Pyrenees or that of Nimeguen, or give up his claims to Longwy or sanction military roads through Lorraine for French purposes, he was never much more than titular Duke. Brave like most of his forerunners, and a very capable soldier—praised in that respect by the great Duke of Berwick—he sided with the Germanic Empire against France, and married Eleanor, sister of the Emperor Leopold I. In 1690 he was followed by his son, also called Leopold, who by the Treaty of Ryswick was placed, in consequence of the military reverses of France, in possession of his ancestral dominions. Nevertheless, he had to leave Longwy and Sarrelouis to Louis XIV, and grant a right of passage through his States to French troops.

Seventy years of warfare and frequent foreign occupation had proved disastrous to Lorraine. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, in spite of the frequency of hostilities, the duchy had been a progressive State. At the period just mentioned it had 400,000 inhabitants. Even its mountainous and forest re-

* I have extracted some of the above particulars from a previous book of mine, "The Favourites of Louis XIV." (Chatto and Windus.)

gions were becoming populated, and commerce and industry were increasing. Great fairs were held in one and another town, and attracted traders from many parts of Europe. In the wake of the Reformation, which came chiefly from Alsace, a democratic movement set in, but was thrown back by excesses, such as attended the rising of the Rustauds.* On the other hand, the advent of the Reformation led to the reform of some of the religious orders, notably the Benedictines and Premonstratensians. Further, in 1572 Charles the Great founded the first university of Lorraine at Pont-à-Mousson. But the subsequent age of incessant turmoil brought misery with it. There were pestilences, famines, ever-increasing imposts, incessant marchings and counter-marchings of plundering soldiery. Good government became impossible. It is acknowledged that the French officials who were appointed by Louis XIII and Louis XIV did what they could to alleviate the sufferings of the inhabitants, but the task devolving on them was really beyond their powers.

Though Duke Leopold had an Austrian mother he took a French wife, Elizabeth Charlotte of Orléans, and in endeavouring to replace the administration of his States on an orderly basis he followed French examples. They, perhaps, were scarcely the best guides, for in spite of Colbert, Vauban, and others, the age of Louis XIV was too often one of sheer oppression. The laws introduced by Leopold were mainly copied from the *ordonnances* of the French monarch. Native traditions were disregarded, in such wise that the assimilation of Lorraine to France steadily increased. The financial systems became almost identical. In spite, however, of various

* See pp. 33, 34, 81, *ante*.

errors, Leopold certainly improved the condition of his people. He also patronized art and letters, and built a great deal. About the time of his accession Nancy had less than 8000 inhabitants. Eleven years later it counted nearly 15,000, who in 1734 had increased to nearly 20,000. At that time, it is recorded, an *octroi* service for the collection of municipal dues on provisions and other commodities coming into the town had been established, and the streets were lighted with lanterns.

For a while Nancy had felt the evil effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October 22, 1685), though in a less degree than Metz, which is said to have lost two-thirds of its population at that time. There were *dragonnades* and other persecutions in various parts of Lorraine. The Jews, who were not disturbed, profited by the emigration of the Protestants. They had been expelled from the Three Bishoprics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but during the sixteenth a few were allowed to remain for a short time at Metz. Their number was at last reduced to four families, who obtained permission to continue residing in the town on paying 200 crowns apiece to the Bishop and an annual sum of 200 *livres* for the benefit of the poor. They were to receive no foreign Jews, to take no weapons (unless by express permission) as security for loans, and to levy no higher weekly interest than one *denier* (the twelfth part of a *sou*) for every *livre* they lent. In less than forty years those four families had become twenty-five. In 1614 there were 58 families; in 1624, 76; in 1657, 96; and in 1674, 119, comprising 665 males and females, all descended from the original four families of 1556. This increase continued afterwards. In 1681 there were no fewer than 1422 Jews of both sexes at Metz.

In 1689, 32 refugees from the Palatinate obtained permission to settle in the town, where in 1739 there were altogether 530 Jewish households, representing 2213 persons, all of whom resided in the same street, virtually a Ghetto, where exorbitant rents were paid as Jews might not possess house property. In order to remain undisturbed they handed large sums, virtually bribes, to members of the corporation and the nobility. Besides being subjected to very heavy taxation they were only allowed to deal in certain specified commodities. Louis XV granted his mistress, the Duchess de Châteauroux, a *rente* on the Jews of Metz in order to increase her income. She was parted, however, from the King not long afterward and succumbed to poison administered by somebody jealous of her influence. It was about this period that the Jews were exempted from the obligation of having to wear yellow hats to distinguish them from all good, and likewise bad, Christians. In connexion with the war of the Austrian Succession (1741–1748) the Lorraine Jews rendered considerable services by bringing horses for the French cavalry from Germany and also by importing grain. They are said to have sacrificed 30,000 *livres* in these matters, and it was probably as a reward for their behaviour that the stigma of the yellow hat was removed.

As an ecclesiastical see Metz remained under the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of Treves until in the early period of the great Revolution it came under the Archbishopric of Reims. When, however, Napoleon restored religion he placed the Bishop of Metz under the Archbishop of Besançon, and this continued to be the position until the annexation by Germany. In ancient times the city figured somewhat prominently in ecclesiastical history, eight Church Councils being

held there. At one of these it was enacted that no priest should have more than one church or benefice, a regulation which would have horrified many a fat pluralist of later days. The same sixth-century council also decreed that no woman whatsoever should dwell in a priest's house, even though she were his mother or his sister. As time elapsed the regulations became less and less stringent in this respect. Nevertheless, during Duke Leopold's reign (1690–1729) we find bishops ordaining that no priest should keep a housekeeper aged less than forty years. The Bishop of Toul even decreed that the priests and curates in his diocese should not visit girls' schools. In 1715 a priest convicted of adultery with a notary's wife was ordered to pay a fine equivalent to £100, and, if worth more than that amount, to have all his property confiscated. He, however, at least retained his liberty whereas his paramour was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Some years later another priest, convicted of ignoble offences, suffered the death penalty.

Immorality was usually punished severely. In one case an unfaithful wife was hanged and her lover broken on the wheel. The wife of a locksmith of Nancy was likewise sentenced to death, but we read that her husband, compassionating her fate, offered to take her back, and thereby saved her life. In another town a girl found in a barracks was sentenced to perpetual banishment. On the other hand unfaithful husbands escaped with fines of twenty *livres* or thereabouts. Another typical case was that of a count who, having a son by his wife's maid, was sentenced to bring up the child at his own expense and in due time to have him taught a trade. There were horrible penalties for some offences. A drunken man entered

a church and attempted to take the Communion. He had not confessed, and, moreover, instead of praying he began to swear. The sentence in his case was that his tongue should be pierced with a red-hot iron, and that he should afterwards be banished from the duchy. The clerk of a court of justice escaped a similar penalty for a curious reason. He was convicted of having used, whilst in his cups, blasphemous language about the Pope, the priesthood, and the Duke. He was pardoned, however, on it being urged in his favour that whenever he tippled too freely he invariably became quarrelsome and offensive, instead of merry like other people.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the enactments against Protestants were particularly severe, for although only the Three Bishopries and a few othér districts really belonged to France, the forces of Louis XIV were to be found all over the duchy. In the case of Catholics who lapsed from their religion into Protestantism there was but one penalty—death by hanging. From time to time there were still some trials for sorcery, and unhappy victims were burnt at the stake; but these cases were far less numerous than during the Thirty Years' War, when Protestants as well as Catholics freely put so-called witches to death.

I have mentioned that priests were forbidden to enter girls' schools, and may add that in most localities schoolmasters and mistresses were elected by the burgesses or other parishioners. In the first instance, however, all candidates were examined respecting their orthodoxy and attainments by ecclesiastical authorities, and only those regarded fit for the posts to which they aspired were eligible for election. One of the Bishops of Toul took a wise course by ordering

that whilst children should first say their prayers in Latin, according to the usage of the Church, they should afterwards repeat them in French in order that they might know the nature of their prayer. This appears to have been decreed in order to meet the frequent objection of the Protestants, that the folk who said their prayers in Latin had no notion what they meant.

Some proof of the increasing prosperity of Lorraine under Duke Leopold and his successors is supplied by the following figures. In 1700, ten years after Leopold's accession, the taxes brought 680,000 *livres* to the ducal exchequer, but in 1729, the last year of his reign, they yielded 1,915,620 *livres*. In 1737, soon after the accession of Stanislas Leczinski, it was found that there were 125,768 households liable to payment of taxes; and M. Ravold, one of the historians of Lorraine, estimates that allowing for the large number of people who were exempt from taxation, and also for the indigent class, the above figures would imply that the population of the duchy was then approximately 760,000. There is plenty of evidence respecting the steady growth of industry and trade. In textiles, linen and cotton goods and lace were to the fore. The mines were worked more thoroughly than previously. Tin alone gave employment to 2000 hands. There were numerous smelting-works, foundries, and forges. The glass-works, notably at Baccarat, had become extremely important. The paper-mills employed some 500 hands, and produced about 80,000 reams annually.

It has been mentioned that French troops occupied various parts of Lorraine in Duke Leopold's time. In 1702 Louis XIV, fearing invasion, garrisoned Nancy, where his forces remained until almost the end of his

reign. Leopold lodged a mild kind of protest and then settled at Lunéville, which remained the usual residence of the ducal court until Lorraine was united to France. In 1707 Leopold's conciliatory policy induced Louis to hand over the town of Commercy, which he had been arbitrarily detaining. Further, under the regency of the Duke of Orléans, the French restored the *prévôté* of Longwy, that is, apart from the actual town and fortress (the latter Vauban's work), which Louis XIV had styled the "Iron Gate of France." As some compensation for the retention of the stronghold, Rambervillers and its dependencies were restored to the Duke of Lorraine. His sovereignty was also recognized over Saint-Hippolyte, Nomeny, Saint-Avold, and the Abbey of Riéval. In 1728, near the close of his reign, a treaty was signed with France by which Lorraine was declared to be neutral territory. In a secret clause, however, Leopold covenanted to allow French troops the right of passage through the duchy "in case of absolute necessity, as happens in nearly all wars." One cannot read those last words without thinking of what happened to Belgium in 1914.

There is no doubt that Leopold's rule was an autocratic one, based on the system which sprang up in France under Louis XIV. The old constitutional methods observed by earlier Dukes were ignored, and when some of the Lorraine nobles protested against the change they were silenced in the most peremptory fashion.* It was Leopold who gave an asylum in Lorraine to the Young Pretender, greatly to the

* Many of them disliked Leopold because, apart from levying fees on new creations, he ordered that all families ennobled by the Bishops of Metz, Verdun, and Toul, and by the Lords of Commercy since 1616, should pay 6000 *livres* apiece, with additional sealing duties, for confirmation of their rank.

disgust of our Hanoverian sovereign. Some time afterwards the Duke had occasion to send the Marquis de Lambertye as envoy to England, but George II refused to receive him, and the only result, a not unimportant one, of the Marquis's journey was that he brought back with him a quantity of English seed potatoes which were of a much superior quality to those introduced by the Swedes about 1665 during the Thirty Years' War. Hitherto, moreover, the cultivation of potatoes had been restricted, as the tubers were said to exhaust the soil, but from Leopold's time it spread greatly, and became so remunerative that under the French régime a special tax was levied on potato crops.

Leopold's wife, Elizabeth Charlotte of Orléans, whom he married in 1699, presented him with four children, two sons and two daughters. One of the girls married Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, King of Sardinia, and the other became Abbess of Remiremont. The younger son, Charles of Lorraine, entered the Austrian service, was appointed Governor of the Netherlands, and married one of the Hapsburg archduchesses. The elder son, Francis Stephen, succeeded his father as Duke of Lorraine and Bar. Now the policy of Duke Leopold had been to conciliate both the kingdom of France and its almost constant enemy, the Germanic Empire. Placed between those powerful rivals, Leopold had generally striven to avoid entanglements and to preserve the independence of Lorraine. Thus, whilst improving his relations with France, he willingly allowed his eldest son, when fourteen years of age, to proceed to Vienna and complete his education there. There was nothing particularly out of the way in this, as the Duke's mother had been the Austrian Archduchess Eleanor, sister

of the Emperor Leopold I. At the time when Francis Stephen went to Vienna, that is, in or about 1715, the imperial throne was occupied by his uncle Charles VI. The young fellow grew up at the latter's Court, accustoming himself to its vain, semi-Spanish ceremonial, and the haughty, supercilious manners of the Princes of the Imperial Blood. When his father died in 1729 he was twenty-one years old, and the Emperor, who had created him Palatine of Hungary, already intended to give him his daughter, Maria Theresa, in marriage.

On hearing, however, of his father's death, Francis Stephen returned to Lorraine, where his mother had already proclaimed him as Francis III, and assumed, as Regent, the duties of Government. She had also begun to levy the usual *dons de joyeux avènement*—the "joyful accession gifts"—in both Lorraine and Bar, the contribution of the former duchy being fixed at 380,610 *livres*, and of the latter at 174,710 *livres*. This was one of the few occasions when in those times nobles and ecclesiastics had to draw on the money in their coffers, as though they were merely common taxable folk. Francis remained in Lorraine until April 1731, when after confirming his mother in the regency he again departed to Vienna, never again to set eyes on his ancestral possessions. His subjects had welcomed him because he was their Duke, and they had always been attached to the ducal house. Never, indeed, were there more loyal folk than the Lorrainers generally. However bad any particular Duke might be, the bulk of his subjects rallied round him, or sympathized with him, or found excuses for his errors of policy, or his extravagance or his breaches of the ordinary laws. On their side the Dukes, besides invariably being brave men, had also been

affable ones who could unbend and consort with their subjects from time to time. But this Francis III was very different. He had become essentially a German, and particularly a Hapsburg.

Both of his grandmothers, by the way, were Germans, one, as we have seen, being a Hapsburg Archduchess, and the other that famous Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, commonly called the Princess Palatine, whose correspondence is so valuable for the history of her times. Married to Philip I, Duke of Orléans, brother of Louis XIV, she became by him mother of the Regent of France as well as of Elizabeth Charlotte, the consort of Leopold of Lorraine.

As will presently be shown, Elizabeth Charlotte was intensely French in her sentiments, and it is possible that if her son Francis III had not been removed to Vienna at the very time when a youth's character is beginning to develop, she might, perhaps, have made him less of a German, less of a Hapsburg than he became in the confined atmosphere of the Viennese Hofburg, which seized hold of him and stifled any generous sentiments originally existing in his nature. From his grandmother, the Archduchess Eleanor, he had inherited—by reason of that curious prepotency of the Hapsburgs, female as well as male, in sexual relations—some of the distinguishing physical features and mental characteristics of the imperial breed. These had been developed by his life at Vienna. The contemptuous haughtiness which this young man barely in the twenties displayed towards his subjects of Lorraine, checked the affection which they would otherwise have showered on him; and thus when he left the duchy—though nobody imagined that he would never again return—there were few if any who regretted his departure.

His mother the Regent was much liked, and the hearty loyalty which he rejected was transferred to her. She freely refers to him in her correspondence as her "German son," and complains of the shameful manner in which he bled Lorraine, extracting from the duchy every *livre* he could, and spending it at Vienna. In a word, he merely regarded Lorraine as a milch-cow. The Duchess-Regent tells us that his annual revenues amounted to 5,960,000 *livres*, made up as follows: From the farmers-general, 2,600,000; from the subsidy, otherwise the *taille* (that is, income and land tax), 2,000,000; from the ducal domains and the forests, 910,000; and from casual sources, minting, and other rights, 450,000 *livres*. Of this amount he expended in Lorraine only about 1,200,000 *livres* on salaries, the upkeep of the ducal stables and hunt, and allowances to his mother, his sisters, and his younger brother Charles. Moreover, he only paid interest on the debts left by his father (between eight and nine million *livres*), without reducing the principal by a single copper.

Now in 1733 Augustus II or the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, died, and his son Augustus III, the only legitimate one among some three hundred, expected to be elected in his turn to the Polish throne. But he was opposed by a Nationalist party which, assembling at Warsaw in September that same year, chose a compatriot, Stanislas Leczinski,* for the regal dignity. His daughter Marie having become the wife of Louis XV of France, that sovereign supported his claims. On the other hand the Emperor Charles VI upheld those of Augustus of Saxony, who

* There are various spellings of this name. I have preferred to use the least complicated.

had married one of his daughters, the elder sister of Maria Theresa. The Emperor was the more influenced in this matter as, having no male heir, he desired to leave all his possessions to Maria Theresa, in whose favour was issued the famous deed known as the Pragmatic Sanction. This set aside the legitimate rights of the daughters of the Emperor's deceased brother, Joseph I, and also those of Maria Theresa's elder sister, whose husband, Augustus of Saxony, expecting the crown of Poland, assented to this course. In return the Emperor undertook to place Augustus on the Polish throne, and the Russian Empress, Anna Ivanovna, niece of Peter the Great, was a party to this determination, the more particularly as Stanislas Leczinski had been a companion in arms and in captivity of Russia's enemy, Charles XII of Sweden. Charles VI and Anna therefore intervened by force of arms, and Leczinski was driven from Poland. France having declared war gained some victories over the Austrians, but was ultimately obliged to recognize Augustus as Polish sovereign.

One must now pass to another matter. At this same period the Grand Duke of Tuscany was John Gaston de' Medici, son of Cosmo III by Marguerite Louise, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orléans, brother of Louis XIII. John Gaston had married a Bavarian princess by whom he had no children, and his nearest relation was the Duke of Parma, who was also childless. In 1725 therefore—ten years before the war for the Polish Succession—France, the Empire, and Spain entered into a treaty by which it was agreed that the two duchies of Tuscany and Parma (with which was included Piacenza) should pass on the death of their respective sovereigns to the Infant Don Carlos, later King of Naples. At the conclusion of the Polish war,

however, this arrangement was cancelled inasmuch as it concerned Tuscany, it being decided by preliminaries signed at Vienna on October 3, 1735, that the Grand Duchy should go to Maria Theresa's destined husband, Francis III of Lorraine and Bar, he on his side relinquishing those States in favour of Stanislas Leczinski to compensate the last named for the loss of the Polish crown. It was further stipulated that, on the death of Stanislas, Lorraine and Bar should be united to France. Other arrangements were that the lordship of Falkenstein belonging to Francis III should go to Austria, that the nobles of Lorraine should retain the right to sit in the Imperial Diet, and that, as Francis would not come into possession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany until the death of John Gaston, France should pay him in the interval, as a kind of pension, a sum of 4,500,000 *livres*, and also discharge the debts left by his father to the amount of 8,711,726 *livres*.

These various covenants supply a remarkable illustration of the manner in which high and mighty princes then disposed not only of territories but also of their inhabitants, whose wishes were deemed too contemptible to be consulted. We see a Lorrainer, descended from the old house of France, set on the Italian throne of Tuscany, a Spaniard placed in possession of the Two Sicilies and Parma, a German Elector of Saxony made King of Poland, and a Pole made Duke of Lorraine and Bar. Napoleon did some extraordinary things as a Kingmaker, but he was more consistent in his methods, uniformly conferring the regal dignity, as in the case of Spain, Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, on his own kinsfolk, or, as in the case of Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, allowing native

princes of inferior status to assume the kingly title.*

Bleeding his subjects of Lorraine and pocketing remittances from Louis XV, Duke Francis III indulged himself at Vienna in gratifying his expensive tastes. He was a tailor's man with a passion for fine clothes, and history has preserved a record of a coat that cost him 300,000 florins, or approximately £25,000, precious stones being sprinkled plentifully about the embroidery. Tucked out in this fashion Francis paid his court to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, whom he married on February 12, 1736, he then being twenty-eight and she nineteen years of age. Among the children afterwards born to them were the Emperors Joseph II and Leopold II, and Marie Antoinette, who died upon the scaffold.

John Gaston de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, an affable and cultured prince with a hatred of bigotry and an inclination towards philosophic doubt, passed away at Florence on July 9, 1737. Ten days later the Tuscan Senate took the oath to Francis of Lorraine. Owing to his grasping nature a dispute arose respecting John Gaston's personal property and effects, to which Don Carlos of Naples and the deceased's sister, the Electress Palatine,† had better claims. Francis, however, set hands on everything he could. There was only one fly in his ointment. On being placed in possession of Tuscany his French pension ceased, and as yet, instead of 4,500,000 *livres*, he had only received

* There were no kings except the titular King of the Romans in the old Holy Roman Germanic Empire. The highest dignities were those of elector and duke. Prussia did not form part of the Empire, where its king was only Elector of Brandenburg. The old emperors would not allow any ruler of lands subject to the imperial suzerainty to assume the title of king.

† The reigning branch of the famous house of the Medici became extinct at her death, which occurred on February 18, 1743.

1,300,193 and 14 *sous* (*sic*). Nothing more was paid to him personally by the French government, though certain agreed allowances to members or connexions of the old house of Lorraine were continued until the Revolutionary period (1793).

Although a few Lorraine nobles followed the fortunes of their former Duke and betook themselves to Vienna, while others joined his younger brother Charles at Brussels, the people generally were grief-stricken at finding themselves sold like a herd of cattle by the degenerate descendant of their native dynasty. The town and county of Commercy were by agreement assigned to the Duchess-Regent, Elizabeth Charlotte, and when she and her retainers quitted Lunéville, the seat of the ducal court, people lined the roads, knelt before her, and wept, whilst begging that she would not forsake them. Her opinion of her son's conduct is shown by a letter which she wrote at this period. She bluntly denounced him in it as a degenerate, and after refusing to join her younger son, the Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, she added: "I greatly love Lorraine and the Lorrainers. They do not dislike me, and so I will remain with them until the end of my days. As for the Emperor (Charles VI) I would rather die at this moment than come under his domination. I will live my own life, and stay here unless I go to Paris should the King (Louis XV) so will it. He is the head of my house, and I will always obey him and no other power; and if he allows me to stay here, it is here I hope that I shall end my days (Lunéville, June 1736)."*

* She succumbed to an attack of apoplexy at Commercy on December 23, 1744, and was much regretted by the Lorrainers.

VI

THE STORY OF LORRAINE

(From the Time of Stanislas to 1870)

Stanislas Leczinski : His Disposition and Personal Popularity : The Intendant La Galaizière : Bad Seasons in Lorraine : Excessive Taxation : War of the Austrian Succession : Louis XV at Metz : More Taxation and Increasing Unpopularity of La Galaizière : The Amours of Stanislas : His French Friends : His Tragic Death : Lorraine under the Old French Régime : Industrial Prosperity : Church Abuses : Crimes and Punishments : The Revolution : The Switzers at Nancy : Patriotism of Lorraine : Lorraine under Napoleon : The last Bourbon Rule : The People of the Sarre and Prussia : Napoleon III and the *Coup d'Etat* : Last Years of the Second Empire.

The Duchy of Bar was formally transferred to Stanislas Leczinski on February 8, 1737, and that of Lorraine on March 21 in the same year. One of his compatriots, a certain Baron Mechec, took possession of the States in his name. Born at Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, Stanislas was at this time sixty years of age. His early career had been most adventurous. Apart from his attempt to secure the kingdom of Poland, in which he was supported by his more patriotic countrymen, he had distinguished himself in one of the great sieges of Dantzig, and as a close friend of both the famous Charles XII of Sweden and Mazeppa, the renowned Hetman of the Cossacks, he had fought at that Battle of Pultava on losing which Charles had sought a refuge in Turkey, whither Stanislas accompanied him. But those wild days were past, and in time the Polish prince had become

corpulent and somewhat indolent also, as happens with a good many men who expend their vitality too freely in their early days. His one great desire was to be regarded as a king, and when the transfer of Lorraine was arranged he bethought himself of Merovingian times and wished his new State to be called the Kingdom of Austrasia. But France, having the reversion of the duchy, would not listen to his suggestion. On the other hand, although Poland was for ever lost to him he had certainly been elected to its throne, and on that account was always known as King Stanislas, even among the Lorrainers, who possibly thought this a good way to distinguish him from their native dukes.

Simple in his habits, personally frugal, Stanislas was affable and good-natured within the limits which his peculiar circumstances allowed. In one respect his character was contradictory. Whilst he remained throughout his life a practising Catholic, friendly also towards the Jesuits, he dabbled in the philosophical ideas of the eighteenth century, and attracted some of the foremost French philosophers to his little court. In another respect also he was quite a man of his times, having a strong inclination towards *galanterie*. That may well account for the bitter tongue ascribed to his wife, Catherine Opalinska, who often had good cause for jealousy. Withal, Stanislas became as popular among the Lorrainers, notably those of Lunéville and Nancy, as was possible for a foreign prince thrust upon a people who had never expressed any desire to be ruled by him.

Stanislas's popularity was, however, strictly personal. It in no wise extended to the government which was imposed upon him by France. In every

direction, throughout the whole eighteenth century until the Revolution burst forth, the old French régime did its utmost to destroy itself. It listened to no remonstrances, it gave no heed to any warnings. Slowly at first, but at a gradually quickening pace, it steadily pursued the path leading to the precipice, as if suicide were its set purpose, its fixed idea. It had two mottoes, one emanating from the King, Louis XV, who, when warned of the rottenness of the whole fabric, remarked: "It will last as long as I shall"; and the other attributed to his mistress, La Du Barry: "After us the deluge!" The deluge, one of blood, came, however, whilst she was yet living, and it overtook her.

Now, before the time of Stanislas, Lorraine had more than once had experience of French methods of administration. They were revived under the Polish Duke, who was put in leading-strings. Under the pretext of relieving him of several of the cares of government it was arranged that France should take charge of financial matters, military affairs, the appointment of officials, the control of the great forests and other branches of the administrative system. In return Stanislas was to be allowed 1,500,000, afterwards increased to 2,000,000, *livres* per annum, equivalent, it is estimated, at the present time to about £240,000. The result was as follows: The French and Lorrainer military forces were placed under the command of the Duke de Fleury, who received the title of Governor of the Duchies, whilst all civil affairs were committed to the charge of a certain Antoine Martin Chaumont de La Galaizière, hitherto Intendant at Soissons, and brother-in-law of Jean Orry, previously Comptroller-General of Finances in France. In Lorraine and Bar, La Galaizière took

the titles of Chancellor, Keeper of the Seals, and Intendant.

He appears to have been a clever man and an honest one, but he soon became extremely unpopular by reason of his incessant exactions. As Intendant he covered the duchies with officials, so-called delegates and sub-delegates, who spent their time, morning, noon, and night, in wringing money out of townsfolk and villagers. Men shrank at last from accepting the once honourable office of syndic, or mayor, of a commune. Those who occupied this position were made responsible for the commune's taxes, and Monseigneur l'Intendant and Monsieur le Délégué or Sous-Délégué were never disposed to accept any excuses. The taxes had to be paid in full and punctually on a certain date, or woe to the unfortunate syndic who was not ready with the money. To avoid unpleasant consequences, syndics possessed of means sometimes paid the amount demanded out of their own pockets, and had to wait perhaps a couple of years before recovering from their parishioners the money which they thus advanced. This kind of thing often happened in rural districts. Severe frosts, great storms, floods, spells of excessively hot weather were frequent in Lorraine during the eighteenth century. One year there were earthquakes; at another time came a plague of locusts. Stanislas reigned from February 1737 to February 1766, and I find that in fourteen of those nine and twenty years there was one or another calamity which led either to a scanty harvest or to some other cause of widespread distress. The year 1754 was known particularly as the "year of misery." Nevertheless, come flood, come storm, withering heat, earthquake, or plague of insects, Monseigneur l'Inten-

dant expected all taxes to be paid as if nothing whatever had happened.*

Arthur Young records in his famous survey of France (1787–1789) that the plains of Lorraine were among the worst cultivated in the whole country. He would have understood the cause better had he known that since the union of the duchy with France, after the death of Stanislas—that is, a period of little more than twenty years—there had again been no fewer than nine bad years, some indeed when all the crops had suffered. Like 1754, 1771 was a year of the greatest distress; and about the time when Young was writing his work, the winter (1788–1789) in Lorraine proved so extremely severe that many walnut-trees as well as vines perished. Apart from those visitations of nature, the peasantry, bowed down by many burdens, were destitute of the pecuniary resources required for really good husbandry.

The two terrible winters of 1739 and 1740 led to very great scarcity in the following year, and riots broke out at Lunéville, Vézelise, Dieuze, Enville, and other places. Some severe sentences ensued, but Stanislas, who had retained the prerogative of clemency, granted a number of pardons. Matters had scarcely improved when the War of the Austrian Succession broke out. France joined Prussia in supporting the cause of the Elector of Bavaria (proclaimed as Emperor Charles VII) against that of Maria Theresa. The Lorraine militia was considered barely sufficient to defend the duchy, and accordingly six battalions, each of 600 men, were

* The French farmers-general now had a finger in the pie and paid 3,300,000 *livres* per annum for their privilege. The tax called the subvention or *taille* was fixed in 1738 at 1,800,000 *livres*, a considerable increase on previous years.

immediately raised and taken into the French service, into which the Lorraine Guards had been already drafted. A little later three bodies of cavalry were recruited.* A sum of twenty-one *livres* per man was levied on each commune supplying recruits, in order that the latter might be provided with suitable clothing, and, in addition, Marshal Belle-Isle requisitioned 250,000 allowances of hay, straw, and wood.

Maria Theresa's partisan leader, Menzel of the Pandours, invaded the Sarre region and was joined by some of the people there. Next, Prince Charles of Lorraine crossed the Rhine in command of regular Austrian forces. The greatest scarcity then prevailed throughout the duchy, corn being almost unprocurable. Semi-starvation set in, and matters had scarcely improved when the defeat of the French by the troops commanded by George II of Great Britain at Dettingen (July 27, 1743) caused general dismay. Somewhat later Prince Charles captured Wissembourg and was joined by various malcontent nobles. Stanislas thereupon took shelter in Metz, at the same time sending his wife to Versailles with all her jewellery. Bitche, Fenestrange, Bouquenom, Sarreguemines, and Sarrelouis had been garrisoned and provisioned in order to resist the invaders. There was a moment of serious alarm, particularly as Maria Theresa issued a manifesto calling upon the duchy to rise against Stanislas, and declaring that her husband (the man who had sold Lorraine) would speedily repair thither to place himself at the head of all who would join him. Nobody rose, however, and La Galaizière faced the situation in a very determined way.

* The infantry battalions were known as Nancy, Bar, Sarreguemines, Etain, Epinal, and Neufchâteau. The cavalry were called Polignac, Marainville, and Lacroix, after their commanders.

Some French successes at last brought about a change, whereupon Louis XV, yielding to the exhortations of the Duchess de Châteauroux, arrived at Metz to place himself at the head of his forces. Then for a brief space all became festivity in the old Lorraine city, which had not seen a king of France since the time of Henri II's great triumphal entry nearly two hundred years previously, though it had been the original capital of the early warlike, hard-riding Dukes, who did not transfer their government to Nancy until the middle of the twelfth century. To Metz with the King had come Madame de Châteauroux, much to the scandal of all "right-thinking" folk; nevertheless people from other parts of Lorraine poured into the city to see the King and join in the fêtes which followed his arrival. But Louis suddenly fell very ill, prayers were offered up for his recovery, the clergy exhorted him to dismiss the "scarlet woman" whom he had brought with him, and after she had narrowly escaped being murdered by the populace he weakly assented, whereupon, of course, Heaven promptly cured him, and joy was displayed on every side. "I did not know I was so much loved," he is said to have remarked; and those words probably inspired the appellation of "the Well-beloved" bestowed on him at this time, and often repeated in later years in a sense quite foreign to that which had been originally intended.

Hostilities lasted until the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, when, although owing to floods and storms there was still great scarcity in Lorraine, its people breathed again. But in 1756, after much more distress, the Seven Years' War began, bringing with it yet fresh anxiety and suffering. Never had La Galaizière, who was still at the head of affairs, shown him-

self more exacting. Two super-taxes ("twentieths") had already been imposed, when in 1760 the Intendant decided to levy a third one, which would have meant a total increase of 60 per cent. above the rate paid before the war. Lorraine and Bar had in this way already supplied 3,790,971 *livres*; husbandmen (*laboureurs*) paying 80 *livres*, and common labourers (*manœuvriers*) 20 *livres* apiece. In the state to which the country was reduced the idea of yet heavier taxation aroused general protests. When La Galaizière summoned the Sovereign Court to attend at Lunéville to register the edict, the nobles who answered the call protested that the farmers were being ruined, and could no longer pay any rents either in money or in kind. The dispute became so violent that the French authorities at Versailles were alarmed, and a compromise was effected, La Galaizière, much to his chagrin, having to obey the orders he received. Briefly, the edict was registered, but the third "twentieth" was not levied.

In lieu thereof La Galaizière imposed on the clergy a "gift to the Crown," whereby he secured some 200,000 *livres*. Other sums were levied in a similar way on certain towns. At this period the cost of the administration had become excessive, for since the accession of Stanislas, La Galaizière had added no fewer than 1300 officials to those previously existing, in such wise that on its bureaucracy alone the little State expended more than five million *livres* a year. One improvement was effected by the Intendant. During the terrible "year of misery," 1754—though not before—free trade in grain was established between Bar, Lorraine, and France. This measure enabled the distressed duchies to secure some supplies which were desperately needed.

La Galaizière's unpopularity did not arise solely from the excessive taxation. He showed no regard for some of the feelings of the inhabitants. They had been much attached to their former dynasty and cherished many stirring historical memories. But the Intendant decided that all such nonsense must be stamped out. He forbade at Nancy the famous time-honoured procession in commemoration of Duke René's victory over Charles the Rash of Burgundy. He caused busts and portraits of the old Dukes to be removed—often destroyed. He demolished several historic castles, abbeys, and churches. He prevailed on Stanislas to abolish the Marshals of Lorraine and the office of Grand Seneschal. It mattered not to him that the former dynasty had sprung from the House of France. He foolishly endeavoured to obliterate all traces of it. It was for this reason that he willingly aided Stanislas in his well-meant enterprise to improve and embellish Nancy. The city was virtually transformed, and much of the architectural work done there was in its way quite excellent. But what most pleased La Galaizière was the demolition of the older buildings, the original ducal palace and gate especially. Stanislas founded or enlarged several hospitals, endowed the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in his duchies, encouraged education, establishing burses at the University of Pont-à-Mousson, building a College of Medicine and setting up a Society of Sciences and Belles-Lettres at Nancy—the last named afterwards taking the name of Académie Stanislas. In his time also Saint-Dié, largely destroyed by fire, was rebuilt, and Plombières, famous for its waters, was much improved. It is commonly held that Stanislas paid for all the work, all the foundations here mentioned; but this appears to be incorrect.

During his reign of nine and twenty years he certainly laid out in this manner some 8,500,000 *livres*, but the Lorrainers themselves had to defray the greater part of the expenditure which was incurred. It has been remarked that although Nancy took rank as one of the finest cities in France, it was also one of the very poorest, so heavily was it taxed to pay for its improvements. Some of its new embellishments it by no means appreciated. When in 1755 a statue of Louis the Well-beloved was inaugurated on the Place Royale, the inhabitants hooted the effigy of the licentious monarch.

Stanislas was almost as amorously inclined as his son-in-law, and kept several mistresses, the most notorious of them being the Marchioness de Boufflers, *née* de Beauvau, on whom, according to some accounts, he spent 2,000,000 *livres*, though others state that he allowed her barely sufficient money to pay for her skirts. Several Polish women of title are also said to have been his favourites at various periods, among them being the Duchess Ossolinska and the Countess Jablonowska, the last of whom became one of the mistresses of the Young Pretender. On the whole, there were only a few Poles of both sexes at the little Court of Lunéville. Members of the French and the Lorrainer nobility predominated. Stanislas appears to have been on good terms with the ancient houses of Haraucourt, Lenoncourt, Ligneville, and du Châtelet—the four "Grands Chevaux de Lorraine," or leaders of the duchy's ancient chivalry. Other members of the *noblesse* who attached themselves to Stanislas were the Nettancourts, the Haussonvilles, the Lambertyes, the Tornielles, and the Serinchamps. The Countess de Choiseul and the Countess de Raigecourt were ladies of the palace

under the Marchioness de Boufflers. To Lunéville also came the beautiful, witty, and accomplished Marquise du Châtelet, accompanied by her lover Voltaire, who wrote his famous story "Zadig" to entertain the Court of Stanislas. It first appeared in print at Lunéville. Voltaire was not the only great writer attracted to Lorraine. Thither also came Montesquieu. There were others of lesser note, including Palissot de Montenoy, then quite a young man, and not as yet high pontiff of the so-called "theophilanthropical" sect. Other familiars of the circle which Stanislas gathered around him were the Viscount de Rohan and the Count de Tressan.

I mentioned previously that whilst dabbling in philosophy he favoured the Jesuits, whose dispersion in 1762 by order of the Parliament of Paris greatly affected him. He also protected the Jews, who soon after his death were persecuted by the French authorities.* His wife, Catherine Opalinska, died suddenly in 1747, when sixty-six years old. They had been married more than half a century. At this time Stanislas himself was eighty. Nevertheless, four years later, there was an attempt to marry him to Christina of Saxony, sister of the Dauphiness who became the mother of Louis XVI. Christina was fifty-five years younger than Stanislas, and the French Court would not hear of the match—not, however, on account of disparity in age, but from a fear lest the princess should present the old Lothario with offspring, thereby causing complications at his death.

He became very feeble in his last days. Many of

* By an edict of April 1766 only twelve Jewish families were allowed at Nancy, four at Malzeville, and two at Lunéville. Moreover, they were only tolerated in those towns on the condition they should have no children! Most of the Lorrainer Jews had to reside at Sarreguemines, Boulay, Dieuze, and adjacent places.

his old cronies predeceased him, and at times he invited some of the *bourgeois* of Lunéville to visit him and join in a game of tric-trac, his favourite pastime. His death was a tragical affair. He had returned to Lunéville from a trip to Nancy, where according to one account he had received "Lady Mary Churchill, daughter of Robert Walpole, and her husband," * and at about six o'clock on the following morning, February 4, 1766, he was sitting by the fireside in his bedroom, wearing a fur-lined dressing-gown which his daughter, the Queen of France, had sent him to keep out the cold. One account says that he had been smoking his pipe, and that on wishing to place it on the mantelpiece his dressing-gown caught fire. Another version is that he wished to see the time by a watch or a clock on the mantelpiece, and that owing to the feebleness of his eyesight he drew too close to the fire. At all events his dressing-gown was speedily alight, and he fell on the floor shrieking.

A maid-servant heard him, and called one of the Bodyguard, who rushed to the bedroom. A gust of air which followed the sudden opening of the door fanned the flames, but they were extinguished by wrapping Stanislas in blankets after he had been deposited on his bed. All the injuries appear to have been on the left side, and the flesh of the left hand is said to have been quite burnt away. Everything was done to save the old man, and, in fact, after a few days' treatment the sores seemed to be healing, and he spoke of his accident almost lightly, saying: "My daughter warned me against catching cold, she should have warned me against getting too hot." But his time was nearly spent. He had con-

* I have failed to identify the lady in question.

fessed to Cardinal de Choiseul, Primate of Lorraine, and received the Sacrament, when on February 21 he sank gradually into a comatose state and three days later expired.

By the care of his daughter, the consort of Louis XV, Stanislas was honoured with stately obsequies, his remains being deposited beside those of his wife in the sanctuary of Our Lady of Good Help, originally erected by Duke René to commemorate the defeat of Charles the Rash at Nancy, but rebuilt by the Polish prince. Even whilst the latter was being buried, his arms were struck off all public buildings by the eager officials of Louis XV.* Six hundred and eighty-eight years had elapsed since Gerard of Alsace, according to tradition, had become hereditary Duke of Lorraine. Now, by virtue of the diplomatic conventions, the duchy ceased to be independent, and the eaglets of its armorial bearings had to give place to the fleurs-de-lis of France.

For a moment the Lorrainers derived some comfort from the fact that, immediately after the death of Stanislas, the obnoxious Chancellor and Intendant, La Galaizière, resigned his office, and, repairing to Versailles, was there appointed a member of the Conseil du Roi. He was succeeded in Lorraine, however, by his son, who pursued much the same policy. In regard to taxation † and other abuses, matters did not improve under Thiroux de Crosne and La

* His wardrobe was sold by auction on one of the public squares of Lunéville.

† One little place in Lorraine was exempt from all taxation. This was Domremy on the Meuse, in the present department of the Vosges, arrondissement of Neufchâteau. The exemption dated from the time of Joan of Arc, who was born at Domremy in 1412. In the old taxation registers of Lorraine, against the name of the village there is written, instead of any amount, "Néant, à cause de la Pucelle" (Nothing, on account of the Maid). The privilege remained in force until the time of the Revolution.

Porte de Meslay, who followed La Galaizière *fils*. The old régime treated Lorraine and Bar as a state dependency divided into thirty-six *bailliages*, or jurisdictions. The three bishopries of Metz, Verdun, and Toul, and their territories still constituted a separate *intendance*, or *généralité*, in the midst, as it were, of the *intendance* of Lorraine. Simplification of administrative work was not favoured by the authorities of those times. A complicated state of affairs implied a multiplicity of officials and better opportunities for robbing both the people and the State. Nevertheless certain changes took place in Lorraine. For instance, the Sovereign Court of Nancy was transformed into a *parlement*, and given supreme jurisdiction even over the bishopries, the *parlement* of Metz being suppressed so long as Louis XV remained king. Further, the University of Pont-à-Mousson was transferred to Nancy (1768), and eight or nine years afterwards Nancy and Saint-Dié became ecclesiastical sees. Down to the time of the Revolution there remained only one military governorship, which was located at Nancy. Probably the most distinguished soldier who held this post in the eighteenth century was Marshal de Choiseul-Stainville.

Under Stanislas and the succeeding French administration the population of Lorraine increased considerably,* but there was a steady diminution of the number of people engaged in agriculture. This was largely due to the frequent recurrence of bad seasons and the better livelihood provided by industrial occupations. Although, curiously enough, there was no free trade (except in grain) with the rest of France, industry and commerce expanded. Nancy grew apace, largely by reason of its manufactures. Among the

* In 1778 the figure was 894,275, and in 1789, 934,860.

many kinds of goods made there and in neighbouring towns during the latter part of the eighteenth century were carpets, tapestry, plush, cloth, ribbons, hosiery, and candles. Other branches of industry were a special kind of embroidery, organ-building, wood-carving, marquetry, and terra-cotta work. Beer appears to have been brewed only at Nancy and Dieulouard. There were spirit, liqueur, and syrup distilleries at Lunéville and elsewhere. A special kind of *vulnéraire*, into which iron or steel entered, was made in Lorraine and supplied largely to French soldiers in the field for the treatment of wounds. Perfumery and vinegar works were also to be found. There were tanneries all over the province. Drugget and coarse cloth were largely manufactured. Among the adepts in arts and crafts one finds many painters, engravers, sculptors, woodcarvers, faience-workers, embroiderers, and gilders. Cutlers, toolmakers, and locksmiths were also numerous. The salt industry, which supplied the old régime with an important source of revenue, likewise expanded, the *salines* of Moyenvic, Dieuze, and Château-Salins being largely worked. The salt-water spring of Rosières was destroyed, however, by somebody tampering with it. The glass-works of Baccarat were yet more and more developed. Metallurgical industry increased; and there was much basket-making in the region around Verdun, many osier beds existing beside the Meuse.

Nevertheless beggars are said to have abounded, and the nobility, whether of sword or of gown, was more numerous than ever. The late Cardinal Mathieu, a native of Lorraine, admits in one of his works that gross abuses prevailed among the clergy, particularly the regulars. The exactions of the numerous abbeys and convents were very great. The Carthusian Order

was the only one cited for its charity. The Chapters of Noble Ladies, established at Remiremont, Poussay, Epinal, Romaric, Bouxières, etc., seldom proved benevolent, but usually acted in a very grasping manner towards their tenantry. These foundations, however, declined considerably during the twenty years preceding the Revolution. In 1789 the Chapter of Remiremont still counted fifty-two members, but Epinal had only twenty-two, Poussay seventeen, and Bouxières a baker's dozen. With regard to crime it is stated that between 1737 and 1790 there were 203 sentences to the galleys for life, and 274 to the galleys for various periods. Robbery was the offence most usually visited with these punishments. Only some fifty cases of crimes of violence are recorded in the lists, together with fourteen cases of forgery, three of incest, and forty-eight of common debauchery. I find no exact figures respecting the number of people executed, either by hanging or by strangulation. There was a case of profaning an historic chapel, for which the offenders suffered death, after first having their right hands burnt off; and another of pillaging a house near Phalsbourg, for which seven peasants underwent capital punishment, it being afterwards discovered that all of them were innocent!

In 1788 Louis XVI's Minister, Loménie de Brienne, attempted a general reorganization of Lorraine. The *parlement* of Metz,* restored after the previous King's

* The *parlements* of the old French régime were not parliaments as we understand them nowadays, but more particularly high courts of justice. Their chief administrative duties were to register the edicts emanating from the throne, which, on being registered, acquired force of law. Their chief political right was that of remonstrating when they regarded some edict as being unduly harsh, but their refusals to register and their remonstrances were generally overruled in one or another way.

death, was again deposed by Maupeou, the Royal Chancellor, and Loménie, deciding to form a provincial assembly in its stead, caused edicts to that effect to be registered at Nancy. The Lorrainers, attached to their ancient methods and customs, however out of date they might be, protested against the innovation, denounced the Minister as a partisan of despotism, and demanded the restoration of the old *parlement.* The authorities eventually had to give way in this matter, and the councillors were reinstated. They then imagined themselves secure in their seats, but at that very moment the Revolution, by which all antiquated forms of jurisdiction were swept away, was on the point of exploding.

When the States General were convoked in 1789 Lorraine was allotted thirty-six members—nine of the clergy, nine of the nobility, and eighteen of the third estate. The nobles, over whom presided the amorous poet-soldier, the Chevalier de Boufflers, made very liberal proposals to the third estate, who were largely intent on securing one or another privilege for their respective towns. The hard-pressed peasantry did not rise, and although it was at Varennes in the Argonne, on the confines of Lorraine, that Louis XVI and his family were stopped when attempting to flee the country, large numbers of people of rank and position opposed to the Revolution were able to cross the province without let or hindrance and make their way into Germany. In August 1790 a sanguinary affray occurred at Nancy. The ill-paid soldiers of the garrison mutinied and seized the regimental chests, whereupon the Marquis de Bouillé, who commanded the forces at Metz, received orders to put down the rebellion. His troops almost anni-

hilated the Swiss Châteauvieux regiment, with which the poorer folk of Nancy sided the more willingly as, at the taking of the Bastille in the previous year, these same Switzers had refused to fire on the Parisians. According to the generally received account no fewer than 3000 people were killed in the contest at Nancy, and Bouillé left on the glorious name he had inherited a stain which was only effaced by the heroism of his descendants, several of whom gave their lives for France in the dark, desperate days of 1870. Of the few mutineer-soldiers who were not struck down in the fighting, Bouillé caused one to be broken on the wheel, although all forms of torture were abolished by law. Twenty-one he hanged, and forty-one he sent to the galleys, from which, however, the Revolution as it progressed delivered them.

Lorraine rose when the Prussians and Austrians invaded France. Her people were essentially warlike and all classes contributed to the armies of the Republic. When Epinal was asked for a hundred volunteers more than double that number came forward in one day. On the department of the Vosges, after contributing five battalions of soldiers, being asked to raise another 2600 men, it supplied 6400 within a week. Appeals were also made for money, and the district of Neufchâteau at once furnished 200,000 *livres*, though it was already paying 120,000 in taxation. Twice did the National Convention decree that the department of the Vosges had "deserved well of the country." In March 1793, after providing fifteen battalions of troops, it contributed yet another one to the national defence. There were similar efforts in all parts of Lorraine. Church bells were taken down and sent to the foundries to be cast into cannon. Although many townships

were on the verge of starvation, corn, flour, and oats were poured into the strongholds of Metz, Strasburg, Sarrelouis, and Landau to provide for their garrisons. Cereals were even dispatched to other parts of France where the distress was particularly great. Many of the soldiers of the Lorrainer and Alsatian regiments became distinguished men. It was said of Phalsbourg that it not only gave France a marshal—Lobau—but that one out of every six of its inhabitants became a general, and that each of its houses supplied either a colonel or two battalion commanders. The population of the eastern provinces was animated with feelings of detestation for the invaders from across the Rhine. Neither Lorrainer nor Alsatian had been well treated by the old French régime, but in the great hurly-burly of the Revolution they showed how French their sentiments had become. Their blood was mingled freely with that of the other defenders of the country, as though from the very dawn of history they had always been her sons.

The most conspicuous representative of Lorraine in the National Convention was that democratic Gallican, the Abbé Grégoire, a native of Vého in the Meurthe, and parish priest of Embermenil. He acted for a time as Constitutional Bishop of Blois, and under the Consulate became a member of the Senate. He and Carnot, who was a member of the Tribunat, were the only two representatives who protested against Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial dignity. There were few revolutionary excesses in Lorraine. Even when hatred of Austria, whose Emperor was descended from the old ducal house, prompted the Revolutionists of Nancy to remove the coffins of some of his ancestors from the Church of the Cor-

deliers, the remains were not burnt or cast to the winds according to the general practice of those times, but were simply consigned to one of the public cemeteries. As for the Revolutionary Tribunal, which sat at Mirecourt, it was probably the most humane and lenient in all France. According to one of the province's historians it sent in all only nine persons to the guillotine.

The patriotic fervour continued unabated under Napoleon, who, as historians have recorded, derived some of his most eminent captains as well as his best regiments from Alsace-Lorraine. Metz resisted the Allies victoriously both in 1814 and 1815. *Francs-tireurs* roamed the woodlands and the hill-sides, ever on the alert to pounce upon small parties of the invaders. The Emperor's first fall brought depression, but elation supervened when he returned from Elba. The Hundred Days ended, however, with the crash of Waterloo, and Prussia then greedily tried to lay her hands on at least a part of Lorraine as well as the whole of Alsace. Seventy-two communes covering over 153,000 acres of territory and counting 40,000 inhabitants were wrested from France by the treaty of November 20, 1815, the greater part going to Rhenish Prussia and the rest to the Bavarian Palatinate. I have already mentioned, I think, that among the towns secured by Prussia was Sarrelouis, the birthplace of Marshal Ney. Dupin *aîné*, who defended Ney when he was tried for high treason to Louis XVIII, wished to argue that Sarrelouis and its people having been transferred to a foreign Power, the Marshal was not amenable to a French court on the specific charge brought against him, as he owned no allegiance to the French Crown. Ney, however, interrupted his counsel violently: "No,

no!" he exclaimed, "I accept none of that. I am a Frenchman, and I will die one!" *

A most reactionary policy followed the second Restoration of the Bourbons. Clericalism became rampant in the Legislature, and Lorraine, once favourably known to the clergy for its Catholic sentiments, was at an early date the scene of an attempted "Revival," originated by the Bishop of Nancy, Charles Auguste de Forbin-Janson, who ended by organizing missions which travelled hither and thither through France, endeavouring to promote a return to religious observances. Against that, in itself, there is nothing to be said, but the Church, in its zeal for its own interests and those of the restored monarchy, endeavoured to capture all political influence, invariably weighing upon the electorate in favour of its own candidates and opposing the appointment even to trifling offices of any who did not subscribe to its authority. This degenerated into a more or less direct persecution of all who were inclined to liberal ideas in politics or to freedom of thought in religious matters. At one moment all the deputies for Lorraine and virtually all the functionaries of its four departments belonged to the Clericalist party.

Aided so powerfully by the clergy throughout France, the Bourbon Government doubtless imagined itself to be secure. But a change gradually set in, and various liberal and democratic candidates were returned by the electors of Lorraine in 1827. The Liberal Lorrainers in the last legislature of the Restoration included some distinguished soldiers—for instance,

* Dupin's argument was highly fallacious, Ney's offence having been committed whilst Sarrelouis was French territory and under the rule of Louis XVIII.

Marshal Count Lobau, a native of Phalsbourg, and Colonel Jacqueminot, whose name has been perpetuated by a famous rose. Another eminent Lorrainer inclined to Liberalism was Baron Louis, born at Toul, and an expert in finance. At the head of the democratic party were MM. Marchal and Thouvenel, the latter of whom afterwards went over to Napoleon III, and became for a time his Minister for Foreign Affairs—being indeed the best man who held that post under the Second Empire.

The Revolution of 1830 which set Louis Philippe on the throne was attended by trouble on the Prussian frontier. The inhabitants of those districts of the department of the Moselle which had been wrested from France in 1815 and consigned to Prussian domination, began to agitate for their return to France. Now that a more liberal régime seemed to be impending in that country they wished to escape from the Prussian thraldom which they had endured for fifteen years. The movement was particularly pronounced at Sarrelouis, Saint-Wendel, and Hembach. But the Prussian authorities promptly intervened, and many people were arrested and sent to prison for indefinite periods, without being allowed any form of trial. Louis Philippe's Government soon found itself beset with difficulties at home, and was never at any time strong enough to attempt the recovery of the territory lost by the treaty which followed Napoleon's downfall. It is as well to mention that the agitation to which I have referred appears to have been confined at this time almost exclusively to the districts annexed to Rhenish Prussia. There was not the same degree of bitter discontent among the folk whose lands had been transferred to the Bavarian Palatinate. French historians of Lorraine

admit that the Bavarian rule was far less harsh than the Prussian rule, and that, under the former, the educational system was a liberal one.

Like other parts of France, Lorraine became the scene of a strenuous democratic struggle which continued throughout the reign of Louis Philippe. The province's foremost parliamentary champion at this period was Henri Boulay de la Meurthe, a native of Nancy, who, after Louis Philippe's fall, became Vice-President of the Republic. He was the son of Antoine Boulay—born at Chamousey in the Vosges—who, in conjunction with Portalis, framed a large part of that division of the so-called Code Napoléon which is known as the Code civil. In addition to the democratic agitation there were a few plots in Lorraine during Louis Philippe's reign. One was started at Lunéville by some dragoon officers and "non-coms.," with the object of restoring the Empire, but no legal proofs against those who were implicated in this affair could be produced. At last came the widespread demand for parliamentary Reform, with all its banqueting and oratory, which in 1848 culminated in the dethronement of the House of Orléans. Amidst all the dramatic events of that year of vain efforts to gain liberty — when even the Germans tried to free themselves—the people of the Sarre valley, separated from France since 1815, once more sought reunion, and this time those who were Bavarian as well as those who were Prussian subjects desired to become citizens of the new-born French Republic. With that object a great demonstration took place at Saarbrücken (November 1848), when French, Prussian, and Bavarian Republicans fraternized. But the revolutionary movements in Germany were put down. The Bavarian and Prussian authorities

asserted their power, and the folk of the Sarre valley had to remain as they were.

At the election for the presidency of the French Republic the clergy of Lorraine vigorously supported Prince Louis Napoleon against General Cavaignac. Nevertheless the proportion of the votes which the last named secured was higher than in most other parts of France. The number of electors who voted for him in the four departments of the Meurthe, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Vosges was 67,065. But, on the other hand, no fewer than 287,525 votes were polled by the man whose policy in later years led to the loss of Metz and other parts of North-Eastern Lorraine. As I remarked when writing of Alsace, the name of Napoleon was still one to conjure with in 1848. After the *coup d'état* ninety-two Lorrainer Republicans suffered proscription in one or another form, and fifty-seven of these belonged to the department of the Meurthe, in which Nancy, Lunéville, Toul, and Briey were situated. From this one may infer that the Meurthe was the region in which Republicanism was most numerously represented. In the Vosges twenty-one persons were proscribed. In the Moselle (capital, Metz) the number fell to twelve, and in the Meuse to three.* Later, in 1858, after the life of Napoleon III had been attempted by Felix Orsini, and by virtue of a tyrannical Law of Public Safety imposed upon the French Legislature, and against which Marshal MacMahon,

* In the Meurthe two persons were deported to Cayenne and fifteen to Algeria; whilst thirteen were banished, nineteen interned, and eight placed under police surveillance, with fixed residences from which they might not remove. In the Vosges three were sent to Cayenne and seven to Algeria, eight were banished, and three interned. In the Moselle seven were exiled, one was interned, and four were placed under surveillance. The three Meuse cases were deportations to Algeria, that is, to Lambessa, a penal station of infamous memory.

in the Senate, alone had the moral courage to protest, a number of leading Lorrainers were arbitrarily arrested and consigned to the Algerian inferno of Lambessa. Not one of them, in fact no Frenchman in the whole length and breadth of the Empire, had in any way participated in Orsini's attempt. Their sole offence was that they had expressed their detestation of the tyranny of the Imperial rule. That tyranny had abated when in 1866 Lorraine celebrated the centenary of its union with France. The material prosperity which the Empire undoubtedly brought with it, as I showed when writing of Alsace, was then in its zenith, and people readily gave themselves up to festivity. There was at the moment no apprehension of war. The sudden brief struggle between Prussia and Austria did not occur until some months later. Bismarck and his master had not yet begun to cut up Germany, or shown that their ravenous appetites would not be sufficiently glutted unless, in addition to Hanover, Brunswick, Nassau, and divers smaller States, they were also able to secure a succulent slice of France. Besides, whatever might be thought of Napoleon III, there was every confidence in the French army, which was supposed to be of full strength, most powerfully organized, and admirably equipped. Every year, just beyond the western confines of Lorraine, and on the very plain which had witnessed the defeat of Attila and his Huns, there was displayed the superb pageantry of the Camp of Châlons, that great gathering of Grenadiers, Voltigeurs, Zouaves, Turcos, Cuirassiers, Dragoons, Lancers, and other soldiery, all spick and span in vivid uniforms, and drilled to perfection. Sham fights were lost and won, camp-fires blazed, salutes thundered, drums rolled, trumpets blared, and the

winds from the west carried the martial sounds across the plateau of Lorraine, instilling complete confidence in all who heard them. Who indeed could then have foreseen a Wörth, a Gravelotte, a Sedan, a Metz? Lorraine, the land of Joan of Arc, deemed herself well guarded from invasion. None of her sons or her daughters imagined that in a few brief years a day would dawn when the foe would be upon them, and that they would call in vain upon the Maid of Domremy to free them as she had once freed France.

VII

ALSATIANS AND LORRAINERS

Physical Characteristics of the Alsatians : Their former picturesque Costumes : The Lorrainer Race : The Language Question and the German Claims to the Provinces : A Specimen of Lorraine Dialect : Early German Annexationist Propaganda : Linguistic Limits and Place-Names : More Specimens of Dialects : Variations of Speech in Alsace : Famous and Eminent Men given by the Provinces to France : Soldiers, Statesmen, Scientists, Authors, Artists, and others : The Chivalry of Lorraine : The Storks of Alsace.

It has been indicated already that a great diversity of physical characteristics will be found among the Alsatians. They differ from one another according to the part of the country which they inhabit—the Rhine bank, the plain, the lower slopes, and the mountains. The folk of the plain, who are the most numerous, are vigorous, of average height, and well proportioned, with strong bones, pronounced features, and fresh, often quite ruddy, complexions. Some of them have fair hair, others hair of varying shades of brown, others hair of an almost flaring red, but black hair is very seldom found among them. Both blue and brown eyes are seen. The women are generally well developed and make first-rate nurses. They have remarkably good teeth. In the southern part of the plain the men are taller than elsewhere, quick in their movements, with sanguine temperaments and a bearing suggestive of innate pride. In the centre of the plain darker hair than in the south is observed, and the people are more phlegmatic. In the north, where hair of extreme fairness predominates,

the inhabitants are generally inclined to a more slender build, and display great suppleness of motion. The girls with their fresh complexions are often charming, but hard work ages them rapidly. Towards the Rhine a pale and lymphatic type is found, and cases of goitre may often be observed.

The folk seen on the lower spurs of the Vosges are fairly robust, but inclined to be pale and lean. It is hereabouts that red hair is most often noticed, though light brown is the prevailing colour. A certain sickliness used to be found in the narrow valleys, where the dwelling-places were often unhealthy and the food poor—the people subsisting on bread compounded of rye, barley, and buckwheat, potatoes, a little salt bacon, and curdled milk. As for the folk of the Vosges highlands, they differ from other Alsatians, and approximate more to the Lorraine and Franche-Comté types. The men are tall and very strong, the women also tall and fresh-coloured. They dwell (I refer, of course, to pre-war days) on isolated farms among what are called the *hautes chaumes* (high stubbles), and cattle-raising and cheese-making are their principal avocations. The farms are known as *marcairies* * and the people as *marcaires*.

The differences in the physique of the Alsatians arise from a variety of causes, such as local habitat, occupation, and the preponderance of one or another racial element, the country, as was explained in my previous chapters, having been overrun by many ancient tribes and later by the soldiery of numerous contending nations. A long ancestry stretching through centuries of warfare has made the Alsatian, generally, a very courageous man. In old days voluntary enlistments were very numerous. The

* The forms *marcairerie* and *marquairerie* are also sometimes used.

average Alsatian has always proved an efficient non-commissioned officer. His great predilection for the cavalry service is combined with genuine solicitude for his mount. In civil life he is a good and orderly worker, clean and methodical in his habits. There is some variation in his disposition according to his religion, the Catholic being perhaps more inclined to gaiety than the Protestant. Rectitude is one of the Alsatian's strong points, and he is almost invariably hospitable to strangers and charitable to those of his neighbours who may meet with misfortune. The gaiety to which I have referred seeks satisfaction in somewhat noisy pleasures. The Alsatian sings his loudest, perhaps in order to show the power of his lungs. Both lads and girls are born dancers, and trip it freely, as do also the older folk, on festive occasions.

One of the intendants of Alsace under the old régime endeavoured to compel the inhabitants to abandon their picturesque costumes, derived in part from Switzerland and in part from Southern Germany. This attempt failed, and during the Revolution Saint-Just and Lebas, whilst acting as Commissaries of the Republic at Strasburg, made a similar effort, saying to the women of the Alsatian capital that as their hearts were French they ought to follow the fashions of France. The old costumes were still favoured, however, in the rural districts down to our own times. In winter men would be seen wearing round fur caps, in summer broad felt hats, the brims of which were raised at the sides but lowered in front so as to shade the eyes from the sun. On work-days Alsatian villagers would go about in short jackets somewhat like those of Eton boys, but on high days and holidays they donned long, black, high-collared

frock-coats, under which were seen red waistcoats decorated with an abundance of silver buttons. The men did not take kindly to trousers, but preferred breeches, with stockings, or gaiters, or boots of soft leather reaching to the knees. The women, particularly the younger ones, often looked as if they had just stepped from a stage where some operetta had been performed. Their serge skirts, usually green in colour, were embellished in the lower part with broad bands of scarlet or crimson. Under their black, sleeveless bodices, embroidered in front with bright silk, and further adorned with ribbons, you saw *chemisettes*, whose ample sleeves of the *bouffant* pattern, were daintily pleated. If the weather necessitated a little protection, *fichus* or small shawls were cast over their shoulders. On gala days coloured stockings and buckled shoes were worn; whilst the almost invariable headgear surmounting the braided tresses was a tiny cap with a huge black "butterfly" bow, or, as the French put it, a bow *aux ailes de pigeon*. In the Vosgian district of Orbey (Urbeis), where the country girls were often of a slender and refined type, with supple figures and a graceful carriage, they wore light-coloured *cornettes* bordered with black velvet and decked with ribbons; and bright pink *fichus* were often crossed over their dark bodices.

In more recent times the men of Alsace have dressed like other citizens, artisans or peasants of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The women also have generally cast aside the national costumes. Only quite young girls still wear the large black butterfly bows, which were once as characteristic of the Alsacienne as the mantilla was of the Sevillana. Paris fashions have much to answer for at the bar of the Picturesque. They have relegated such garb as I

have been describing to the regions of "auld lang syne":

Adé, adé, adé, those times have passed away,
Yet the blue Alsatian mountains they watch and wait alway.

I previously indicated that minute investigations in all parts of Lorraine have shown its people possessing, both in the past and in the present, skulls of the brachycephalic type rounded at the summit—a usual characteristic of the French Gaelic race. In the many tumuli and ancient ossuaries that had been searched in one or another part of the province down to the year 1862, nearly every skull that was examined was of the aforementioned type.* In 1886 Dr. Collignon wrote in his "Anthropologie de la Lorraine": "Whether you content yourself with looking at the country-folk as you pass them, or whether, turning to the dead, you search the ossuaries and the most ancient burial-places of the whole country, the result remains the same, be the districts those which are reputed Germanic or those which are known to be French. The great majority of the skulls, and in some places all of them, are brachycephalic." There is considerable resemblance to the Auvergnat type; and it is held that although the Lorrainer is not a pure Celt he has great affinity with that race. Two eminent scientists, Broca and Topinard, classed him, by reason of his stature and other characteristics, among the tall, fair, but long-headed Kymri. Various discoveries support the view that at the time of the Germanic irruptions many of the original Celts took refuge in the mountainous districts, leaving the invaders in the valleys, where they appear to have mingled with the older races. According to a map

* "Etude ethnologique sur l'Origine des Populations Lorraines—Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas." 1862.

given by Dr. Collignon there was a mixed zone covering the whole basin of the Moselle, but surrounded by a Celtic zone which included the Thionville, Sarreguemines, and Vosgian districts. In a sense, then, there existed two Lorraines, whose borders often varied according to the vicissitudes of the times, and whose people were distinguished from one another by their speech. The various irruptions and conflicts which occurred resulted from the country's situation. Geographically it is part of the basin of Paris, but it is also linked to the Rhenish system, and ethnologically, historically, and socially has always borne the impress of its twofold geographical position.

Language is by no means an indisputable proof of race. In this country of ours there are many folk who speak only the English language, yet are English only in a legal and not in a racial sense. Every child that is born in Britain is accounted a British subject, although not even a drachm of the blood of any of the British races may flow in its veins. Take one instance out of many. Large numbers of Italians of both sexes come to this country. They marry here, or are married before their arrival, and children are born to them here. These children go to English schools, where they acquire our language, and I know of numerous instances in which they are conversant with only a few words of the parental tongue. Nevertheless, in spite of their English speech they are not English racially. Again, conquerors have at times imposed their language on the conquered. In these later years the Prussians have particularly striven to do so. They have all but stamped out the ancient Wendish speech, and they have exerted themselves to impose German on their Polish subjects to the exclusion of the latter's national language. Although, as

scientists show, there has been a Germanic element in Lorraine, or rather in its north-eastern part, for many centuries, and the people in that particular region have taken to the German speech, it by no means follows that the bulk of them are of the German race. It was pointed out at the time of the annexation of North-Eastern Lorraine in 1871 that no German was then spoken at Metz, Thionville, Boulay, Saint-Avold, Château-Salins, or Dieuze, where French had always prevailed from at least the sixteenth century.

By French I do not mean pure French of the literary description. The provinces of old France had their particular, varying idioms. That of the Picards was probably the one which most contributed to the French language as we know it to-day. With regard to the Lorraine dialects one finds that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century they were formed mostly of old French mingled with corrupt Celtic and Latin words. Going back to distant times it may be pointed out that when the kingdom of Lotharingia was formed, Lothair took the famous "Oath of Strasburg" in words compounded of very ancient French and lower Latin, whereas his uncle Louis the Germanic repeated the same formula in early German.

In a book of mine entitled "In Seven Lands," I supplied a specimen of Lorraine dialect as it was some fifty years ago, and I will quote it here:

Quand j' dansions chus l'ormé
J'eun motins point d' cé grands chépé
Qu'étaient si bin enjolivet,
Que dévélint pus bas qu'eul net.

J'eun motins ni bouff' ni bouffants
Et ni ceintur' de bé rubans.
Nos cotillons et nos corsets
Sont co pus bé que ces affiquets.

The German claims to North-Eastern Lorraine and the whole of Alsace were based largely on linguistic considerations. These claims were brought forward as early as 1856 by a Hanoverian professor named Nabert, who wrote a pamphlet on the "mission" of the German nation to subject to their laws and institutions the whole of those "territories of the Scheldt and the Rhine where their language was spoken." It will be noted that the professor cast his net widely, including in it not only Alsace-Lorraine, but also the Netherlands—whose people, the Dutch and the Flemings, he regarded as Germans by reason of their speech. Only by annexing those lands, said Nabert, could Germany deliver herself from constant warfare with her western neighbours.

Kiepert, the geographer, afterwards addressed himself to this subject, but with reference more particularly to Alsace-Lorraine, which he visited before producing in 1867 the first edition of a map on which he indicated what districts Germany ought to claim. This map * was again reissued in 1871, 1875, and 1888 by way of "fortifying" the German right to the annexed provinces; and in conjunction with the Pan-German Richard Boeck, Kiepert also produced, during the war of 1870, a so-called "Historische Karte von Elsass-Lothringen." In the previous year Boeck, who was one of the most zealous partisans of the annexation of all so-called "lost lands" wherever they might be, had published at Berlin a work entitled "Der Deutschen Volkzahl und Sprachgebiet in den Europæischen Staaten." In the middle of the war, moreover, a certain Petermann issued a book on Alsace accompanied by exaggerated language maps.

* "Special-Karte der deutsch-französichen Grenzländer, mit Ausgabe der Sprachgrenze." (Berlin: Resmer.)

Bismarck knew these maps and writings well. He may have inspired them. At all events they were at his elbow, and at Moltke's also, when in 1871 the preliminaries of peace with France were negotiated with Thiers and Jules Favre.

Boeck accused the French Government of all sorts of high crimes and misdemeanours in regard to its so-called "German" subjects; and with respect to the language question, he found, as I previously related, some supporters among the Alsatian clergy, notably Pastor Baum and a Catholic priest of Strasburg bearing the French name of Cazeaux. That the French Government was justified in endeavouring to diffuse among the Alsatian peasantry a wider knowledge of French, such as prevailed among the better-educated classes of the towns, goes without saying; but the prefects of the Second Empire were often overzealous, and did much harm by interfering in matters which they had better have left alone. Thus a great mistake was made when in certain rural districts of Alsace a fine of a *sou* was imposed on all school-children who were heard conversing together in German dialect. Whatever the sentiments of the Alsatians might be—they had again and again proved their patriotic devotion to France—the old-time Germanic speech was dear to many of them. It was the same as with the Bretons. None fought in 1870–71 more bravely for France than did the Celts of the Armorican peninsula. But they were strongly attached to their national speech, and many knew no other. I can remember instances in which the word of command given in French was immediately afterwards repeated in Breton, for there were many Breton battalions in the Second Loire Army to which I was attached.

At the time of Louis XIV the knowledge of French was certainly more restricted in Alsace than it afterwards became, and it is not surprising that when that monarch gave orders to draft all legal judgments and public notifications in French it was found impossible to carry out his instructions, particularly in several of the rural districts where French was quite unknown. Some years ago M. Charles Pfister, a native of the annexed provinces, and a Professor of the Faculty of Letters at Nancy, endeavoured to draw a line of demarcation between the French-speaking and German-speaking districts.* His labours tended to show the great complexity of the question. Although, here and there, a linguistic limit could be traced with comparative ease over a distance of several miles, in other parts one was constantly confronted by little French or German *enclaves* locked, as it were, in the midst of a district where the other language was spoken. In these later years the Reichsland authorities have exerted themselves more and more strenuously to Germanize the whole of the annexed territory, imposing their language on the people by methods which virtually absolute French rulers, such as Louis XIV and Napoleon III, shrank from adopting. It follows that some of M. Pfister's facts may now be out of date, nevertheless his *brochure* is instructive, for it shows what was the position some twenty-seven years ago—that is, a score of years after the German annexation.

In Southern Alsace, towards the Swiss frontier, a line of demarcation was supplied by a streamlet called the Lucelle, on one side of which were two

* "La Limite de la Langue française en Alsace-Lorraine." (Paris, 1890.) This pamphlet of forty pages is probably the best refutation of certain German claims.

villages, Levoncourt and Courtavon (renamed Luffendorf and Ottendorf by the Germans), where French was spoken almost exclusively. The same language was used at the village of Lucelle and at that of Oberlarg in the vicinity, though in the last-named locality the Alsatian Germanic dialect predominated. More to the west, the frontier traced in 1871 took no account of linguistic considerations. Although Thiers succeeded in saving the cantons of Giromagny and Delle, besides Belfort, for France, he was obliged to surrender a number of exclusively French villages to the Germans. These places, anciently dependencies of the lordship of Montreux, had afterwards formed part of the French cantons of Dannemarie and Fontaine. They included, first, in addition to Dannemarie itself, Magny, Romagny (Willern), Latran, Valdieu (Gottestal), Montreux-Vieux, Montreux-Jeune, and Chavannes-sur-l'Etang; and, secondly, Saint-Cosme, Belmagny (Bernetzweiler), Eteimbes (Welschensteinbach) and Bretten, in the upper valley of the Traubach, a tributary of the Largue. No linguistic reason could be assigned for the annexation of any one of those localities, nevertheless Bismarck insisted on appropriating them.

To the north of Eteimbes the heights separating the valley of Saint-Nicolas from that of Massevaux, and the basin of the Rhône from that of the Rhine, constituted a linguistic line of separation, and became in 1871 the political frontier. Going northward, the Vosgian crests supplied roughly a linguistic as well as a political boundary. Among the people dwelling in the valleys of the Doller, the Thur, the Lauch, and the Fecht, the Alsatian dialect has always predominated, but in the valley of the Weiss, a tributary of the Fecht, and not far from Münster, there is a district

where, before the annexation of 1871, no German was currently spoken, though here and there it might be understood. Even German philologists formerly admitted that the communes of Orbey, Le Bonhomme, and Fréland (now Urbach), dependent on La Poultroie, as well as the little Baroche or Zell side valley, whose houses are scattered below the castle of Hohneck, were entirely Welsch. As I may have to use this word Welsch again, it is as well, perhaps, to explain that the Germans derive it from Gallicus, and apply it in contemptuous fashion to folk of the Gallic race. In the little district to which I have been referring, the people differ from the more Germanic race located in the plain. Pfister says that on market days at Kaysersberg it was easy to distinguish the Welsch mountain-folk from the people dwelling in the lower wine-growing villages.

With the *enclave* which has just been mentioned one may connect Aubure (Altweier) in the district of Ribeauvillé (otherwise Rappoltsweiler). Aubure is a composite locality, one part of it being Catholic and the other Protestant. In the former French used to be spoken exclusively, whilst in the latter the German dialect predominated. Going farther north, the valley of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines (Markirch) was divided linguistically in similar fashion. Half of the population of the town itself spoke French and the other half German. This peculiarity may have arisen from the fact that the left side of the valley formerly belonged to the duchy of Lorraine and the other side to the Alsatian lordship of Ribeaupierre (Rappoltstein); but it would be a mistake to regard this particular instance as a general rule. French *patois* has certainly prevailed in some lonely hamlets on the Lorraine side of the valley, but on following the

Saint-Croix streamlet it will be found that nearly all the localities are of the German-speaking variety until at Lièvre (Leberau), on the same side, French speech once more prevails.

The River Lièvre drains the valley of Sainte-Marie and joins the Giessen, which flows into the Ill to the north of Schlestadt. The upper valley of the Giessen is (or was) linguistically French. Both languages were spoken at Breitenau, but French was the speech of Fouday. In a secondary valley, north of the Giessen, Steige was a Welsch village in spite of its Germanic name, but, near at hand, Meisengott favoured the German dialect.

In the frontier part of Alsace near France the most extensive French-speaking district used to be the upper valley of the Bruch, which formerly belonged to the Vosges department. German geographers claimed, however, that it was, by natural configuration, a part of Alsace, and Bismarck adopted their view. Nevertheless the towns of Saales and Schirmeck and all the villages intervening between them were absolutely Welsch. Hereabouts, in two secondary valleys, is the so-called Ban de la Roche,* a district of about eight villages, four of which belonged to the Vosges department. These villages were exclusively French, there being no Germanic element whatever in their population. As a result of the labours of the famous Pastor Oberlin these little places have long been Protestant communities, and are indeed the only French villages professing Protestantism in this part of Alsace. Jérémie Jacques Oberlin, the pastor's eminent brother, one of the first scholars to recognize the importance of dialects in connexion with philology, made a special study of the French *patois* of the Ban

* See p. 35, *ante*.

de la Roche. Natzwiller, in much the same district, has retained, however, the Catholic faith and also the Germanic dialect, this arising, probably, from the fact that the commune was formerly a domain of the Bishops of Strasburg. In some hamlets near Schirmeck—Salm, Quevelles, and Malplaquet—Pfister noted the presence of a Germanic Anabaptist population. These places were little *enclaves*, so to say, in the midst of a Gallic district. Below Schirmeck on the Bruch, Pfister found that Wisch was quite French but that Muhlbach was entirely German. Again, Netzenbach was French. At Lutzelburg (more to the north, in the canton of Molsheim) both languages were spoken. Haslach was German and Steinbach also; but Russ, in the immediate neighbourhood, was a French-speaking locality.

The examples already given will have shown how impossible it would be to divide Alsace between France and Germany—should any such preposterous idea ever enter the head of an insane politician—in accordance with strict linguistic principles. The baffling problem which has confronted generations of statesmen in the Balkan peninsula would be found on a smaller scale in Alsace. In the Balkans, of course, matters are complicated by the fact that not only differences of race and language have to be considered, but long-existing racial rivalry, antagonism, and ambition also. Formerly such elements of contention scarcely existed among the Alsatians proper, religious differences being the only ones of any importance; but circumstances have changed under the German domination of the last forty-seven years, which has planted thousands of people from across the Rhine on the lands taken from France. As for the Alsatians themselves, whether they belong linguistically or

racially to the Germanic group or the Gallic group, very few indeed have wavered in their affection for the land from which they were separated by force in 1871.

Let us now pass from Alsace to Lorraine, proceeding from Netzenbach towards Mount Donon and then entering the Lotharingian district of Dabo. The little River Zorn flows through the Vosgian gorges in a region where only the Alsatian dialect is heard. All the villages on the Bièvre are linguistically Germanic ones. But the upper valleys of both the Red and the White Sarre are French. Pfister found that German was not even understood either at Aboeschwiller, Turquestein or Lorquin—the birthplace of the famous explorer Crevaux. After the two Sarres have met, their waters flow in unison through territory which linguistically is largely French. Pfister noted that language at Nitting, Hermelange, Imling, and Bebing. At Sarrebourg both French and German were spoken. In the canton of Fenestrange German prevailed, but even here there were two French-speaking communes —Angviller and Bisping. The old Lorrainer districts of Dieuze, Delme, Vic, and Château-Salins never used any other language than French, to which, of course, the old *patois* of Lorraine belongs. More to the north, however, eleven German-speaking and eight French-speaking localities were found in the district of Albestroff. A similar state of affairs existed in the annexed portion of the former Moselle department. The people dwelling near the so-called French Nied spoke French, while those near the German Nied used both languages, which practice existed also in the districts of Thionville, Briey, and Longwy.

Many of the geographical names applied to rivers, towns, villages, etc., in Alsace-Lorraine are un-

doubtedly of Celtic origin. The very name of the river of which the Germans are so inordinately proud —the Rhine—is Celtic, signifying a mass of water. The name of the Rhône has the same origin, and there is, by the way, a streamlet called the Rhône south-west of Metz. The Orne, a tributary of the Meuse, bears, like the larger Orne in Normandy, a name of Celtic derivation. The Meuse (Mosa) and the Moselle (Mosella) owe their appellations to the same source. The Bièvre takes its name from *bebros*, which signified beaver in Gallic speech.

Verdun (Virodunum) and Liverdun (Liverdunum) were, as their names attest, strong places of the Celts. The Romans, it will be remembered, first called Metz Divodurum, "the fortress of the gods," after its Celtic name. Mouzon was known in Roman times as Mosomagus, "the field of the Meuse." Another example of the terminal *magus* is supplied by the Alsatian town of Brumath, originally Brigamagus. "Briga," like "dun," signified fortress, and thus we have Vindobriga (the fortress of Vindos), now the village of Vandœuvre near Nancy, and Danobriga (the fortress of Danos), now Denœuvre near Baccarat. From *condate*, a confluence, comes Condé; from Novientum is derived Novéant in Lorraine, besides all the many Nogents scattered throughout France. Tullum was the original name of Toul, as well as of Tulle in the Limousin. Even Saletio, the early name of Seltz, is held to be of Celtic origin. The terminal *acus* occurred in many of the Gallo-Roman place-names of Alsace-Lorraine, Nancy, for instance, being Nantiacus, the property of Nantius. Roman gentilitial forms appear in many of the older names, but sometimes a pure Celtic word sufficed, as in the case of *nant*, brave, warlike; whence one derives

both Nant-le-Grand and Nant-le-Petit on the Meuse.

Several years ago a German writer named Ludwig Bossler tried to prove that the place-names of Alsace-Lorraine were *Urdeutsch*, that is, original or primitive German; but it is distinctly a question whether the many more or less Germanic appellations existing before the war of 1870–71—it is not worth while troubling about those devised since then by the German authorities—were really original names or whether they were merely superposed in such wise as to cover and conceal earlier Celtic or Roman ones. It may be accepted that the Celtic substratum, so to say, of the Alsatian people was overspread with Latin and German strata. Something similar would seem to have occurred with respect to place-names.

Pfister points out that the rock bearing the town of Alt-Breisach in Baden stood on the left or Alsatian side of the Rhine before that river changed its course, and that the Romans called it Mons Brisiacus, a name evidently derived from the Celtic. It is, in Pfister's opinion, an error to think that the Germanization of Alsace dates from the time of Ariovistus,* and that all the Celts were then thrown back to the Vosges, where they are represented by the so-called Welsch of nowadays. Ariovistus was only fourteen years in the region; but, on the other hand, the Tribocci certainly remained in Northern Alsace, and the Mediomatrici of that region were at last compelled to withdraw to the west of the Vosges. Now the Romans succeeded in some matters in which other nations have failed. They induced the peoples whom they subdued to accept and adopt their language. There is evidence that Latin became extensively

* See p. 57 *et seq.*, *ante*,

known in Alsace-Lorraine, and that, indeed, from A.D. 100 to A.D. 350 or thereabouts it was the dominant, though one cannot say the exclusive, language of the country. There are numerous localities whose names are derived directly from Latin. This appears particularly in the case of places called after particular kinds of trees. Aulnois-sur-Seille derives its name from *alnetum*, a spot planted with alders; Malroy comes from *malaretum*, an apple orchard; the various Norroys in Lorraine derived their appellation from *nogaretum*, being spots where walnuts abounded. Again, Preny and Pournoy originated in *prunidum*; the different localities called Bouxières and also Bouxwiller were wooded places, *bussariæ*. Plantières near Metz was so called from *plantariæ*, whilst Chambières, now the site of the Metz cemetery, took its name from *canabariæ*—being anciently a place where hemp was grown. Boulay, called by the Germans Bolchen, is a corruption of *betuletum*, the land being planted with birches. The origin of such names as Fontenoy and Fontoy is obvious. So is that of Porcelette (or Porselt), near Saint-Avold, though it may be unpleasant to have one's village, perhaps one's native spot, called the pigsty or piggery.

The terminals *villé*, *wihr*, and *willer* (Germanized as *weiler*) which are observed in so many place-names of Alsace-Lorraine are all corruptions of the Latin suffixes *villare* and *villa*. Such names as Magny and Mesnils are derived from *mansio* and *mansionile*; Maizeroy, Maizery, and Mézières come from *maceries*. Lungenfeld is a German distortion of *longavilla*; Kestenholz a mere translation of *castanetum*. Colmar is an abbreviated adaptation of *columbarium*; whilst Zabern, which at first sight might appear to be a peculiarly German name, is but a cloak thrown over

the original *tabernæ* of the Roman legions. There is a place known as Domfessel in the vicinity of Saarunion. It was originally *Domus vassalorum.* Keskastel, in the same district, was *Cæsaris castellum*; whilst Singrist, in the neighbourhood of Marmoutier, was *Signum Christi,* dating evidently from the Christian era. In the earlier period of the Roman rule in Alsace, Strasburg bore the name of Argentoratum. The first time its modern name appears—that is, in Gregory of Tours, sixth century—it takes the form of Strateburgum. A somewhat later writer says that this designation was only employed by the vulgar. However that may be, *Strata-burgus*—the fortress on the road (from Germany to Gaul)—was, as Pfister points out, as good Latin as *Augusto-burgus,* the Roman name of Augsburg. In the case of the Alsatian capital, the German spelling, Strassburg, fully conveys the meaning of the earlier Latin appellation.

The foregoing summary will have shown that the Roman like the Celtic dominion left its mark on the place-names of Alsace-Lorraine, in such wise as to dispose largely of the *Urdeutsch* theories of Herr Ludwig Bossler. In the fourth century of our era, however, the German idiom began to spread through the region. Rome, besides taking many German barbarians into her service, settled many colonists, *læti,* in vacant territories. I showed in a previous chapter that the many Germanic invasions of the fourth century were repulsed, but it may be assumed that a certain number of the invaders often remained in a more or less subject state on the western side of the Rhine, and that in this wise the Germanic element increased, until in the sixth century it became the largest. Nevertheless a Latinized population survived

in the Vosgian parts of Alsace, where its speech became transformed into the romanesque dialect which is still current there. Here are a few proverbs of this region with their equivalents in French :

Pu qu' lo lou é, pu qu'il vu évou (Plus le loup a, plus il veut avoir).
Faire lo dchin pou avou l'ouse (Faire le chien pour avoir l'os).
Quo lo pouo a grae il caisse lè ran (Quand le porc est gras il casse le ran (étable)).
Il liëie lo daIe que n'é mi mâ (Il lie le doigt qui n'a pas mal).

Here is another specimen of the Vosgian vernacular. It shows a man complaining of the weather :

Qué to ! j'ai tu aujeduye moyi jusqu'ès osse. J'ai tu pou bôchi ; j'voyezor bié enne nouâche to nar, mâ j'créyézo que ce n' serô riè, et qu' lo gran vo lo virô pu lon. Mâ il o crové quan i n'étaizor pu to pou r'veni. J'â biè mettu du chesse seu mi, mâ cè n'cimpéchézo mi qu' j'a tu moyi bié-u à poi.

(Quel temps ! J'ai été aujourd'hui mouillé jusqu'aux os. J'ai été pour bêcher, je voyais bien un nuage tout noir, mais je croyais que ce ne serait rien, et que le grand vent le pousserait plus loin. Mais il est crevé, quand il n'était plus temps de revenir. J'ai bien mis deux sacs sur moi, mais ça n'empêchait pas que j'ai été mouillé bien à point.)

Further, here is a child's song, formerly sung in the Ban de la Roche,* annexed by the Germans and called by them Steintal. This specimen shows even a closer resemblance to ordinary French :

Foare, foare mo dchva,
Pou demain allé au sa ;
Foare, foare mo polain,
Pou d' main allé au bian pan !
Lo pai, lo pai, lo trot, lo trot,
Lo gailop, Lo gailop !

(Ferre, ferre mon cheval,
Pour aller demain au sel ;
Ferre, ferre mon poulain,
Pour aller demain au blanc pain !
Le pas, le pas, le trot, le trot,
Le galop, le galop !)

A writer named Fallot, who in 1828 produced at Montbéliard a little book on the *patois* of Franche-

* See p. 36, *ante*.

Comté, Lorraine, and Alsace, showing the great similarity between them, pointed out that a large number of the words used by the peasantry differed essentially from Latin, French, and German. As the present volume is not a dictionary I will content myself with quoting just a few of the examples which Fallot gave :

Latin	*French*	*German*	*Patois*
Anas	Canard	Ente	Bourrai
Hortus	Jardin	Garten	Quetchi
Templum	Eglise	Kirch	Motie
Cimex	Punaise	Wantze	Teufion

Whilst the Germanic speech was spreading in Alsace, it also penetrated into parts of Lorraine. But the stronghold of Metz, under whose walls the Celto-Roman inhabitants sought protection, served as a barrier against both the Tribocci and the Ripuarian Franks. When in the fifth century Metz succumbed beneath the onslaughts of Attila and the Huns the flood-tide of the Germanic invasions had abated. In 496, by the so-called victory of Tolbiac, Clovis destroyed the power of the Alemanni, and even imposed his rule on the Ripuarians. Meantime, though Metz and Toul were swayed by a Frankish chief they retained their Gallo-Roman language. The *patois* of Metz has always differed somewhat from the other dialects of Lorraine, and I therefore append a few specimens. The first is taken from a seventeenth-century *trimazo* —a spring-time song, such songs having been current in Lorraine since druidical times :

J'a vu trabeun (beaucoup) de beis gueichons
Fliambet d'in coup pé let quénons (canons),
J'a vu zous (leurs) belles desalayes
Treus mois éprès tot's consolayes.
O trimazo !
S'at (c'est) lo maye, ô mi maye,
S'at lo jali mois de maye,
S'at lo trimazo !

Here are the opening verses of a vintage song, formerly familiar in the Pays Messin :

Queu pliaji (plaisir) d'être en vendome (vendange),
Quand lo s'lat (soleil) dour (dore) les coteaux,
On s'en beille (donne), Dieu sait comme,
En corant pé monts, pé vaux.

Les gueichons (garçons) prach' (près) des bacelles (filles)
Sont gueuilrèts (guillerets) com' des mochats (fauvettes),
Aux peutes (laides) tot com' aux belles
Y font bet (battre) des enteurchats.

Finally the following comes from a comedy written in the old *patois* of Metz and entitled "Lo Mériège des Brauves" ("Le Mariage des Braves"),

Scène premire. Suzon, érangeant let chambe et l'érazant (le balayant) ; Charle, Joseph, en hébits de militares, lo preumin (le premier) éva l'épaye (l'épée) en bandolière ; lo s'gond éva in sabe (sabre) de même, et chéquin des mostèches et in ptiat bèton è let main.

Joseph. Boinjo, let bèle afant, v' féyeus mou bei cheuz vos.

Suzon. Vat' servante. . . . Qu'as' qu'il y et po vat' service ?

Joseph. Je v'nans v' demandet è sopet et in boin lit.

Charle. Que j' vos priera d' bien baisnet (bassiner), s' let fat donc bien quand on at hadé (fatigué).

Suzon. J'mattra, si v' volens, in pou d' seuq (sucre) dans les baisneure (bassinoire), si s'let v' fat pliaji (plaisir).

Certain words, such as *boin* (bon), *in* (un), *let* (la), *è* and *et* (à and a), remain the same in the different Lorraine dialects. This is shown by the opening stanza of an old Noel sung at Nancy and Epinal :

Enne (une) jeune baisselle (bacelle, bachelle)
De boin paran,
Que fut toujou pucelle
En sa viquant,
Dehant in jou
Ses patenot (patenôtres) et set chambe,
Vit in eindg·· (ange) deshante (descendre)
De let pai (la part) de not Cheignou (Seigneur).

With respect to place-names, changes occurred in North-Eastern Lorraine in much the same way as they occurred in Alsace. Amidst the many vicissitudes of

early days such changes were bound to happen. In Merovingian times vacant, abandoned, or confiscated lands took the names of their new owners, to which some such suffix as *villare* was often added. Yet the Roman remains—bricks, tiles, vases, medals, coins, and so forth—found on these spots tell of days long previous to the Merovingian era. Such names as Rambervillers, Badonviller, Gerbéviller, Gondreville, and Remiremont come from Ramberti-villare, Bodonis-villare, Gerberti-villare, Gundulfi-villa, and Romarici-mons. Bodon was a seventh-century Bishop of Toul, Romaric is known to have founded the Abbey of Remiremont about the same period. In none of the five places I have enumerated has German ever been the current idiom. If Rambert, Gerbert, and the others were Franks they speedily accommodated themselves to the vernacular of their Gallo-Roman hinds and neighbours.

In the part of Lorraine most peopled by Germanic folk *villare* was usually changed into *wihr*, as was often the case also in Alsace. Other suffixes introduced by the invaders were *heim* (house), *dorf* and *troff* (village), and *ingen*, an equivalent of the Celtic *acus*. Most of the names ending in *ingen* will be found in German Lorraine, where the French in some instances afterwards altered it to *ange*, as in the case of Finstingen, Fenestrange. In one of the oldest documents respecting Alsace (673) one reads of Monesensisheim and Onenheim, names which subsequently underwent still further Germanization, becoming Munzenheim and Ohnenheim. Those examples indicate the kind of process which occurred.

Christianity tended to alter many old place-names, besides providing names for the new villages which sprang up. A parish whose church or chapel was

dedicated to some particular saint often took his name. That of Dannemarie (altered by the Germans to Dammerkirch) comes from Donna Maria. Moreover, *sanctus* (sankt, saint) gradually replaced *domnus*. Briefly, in the sixth century German and Latin competed for pre-eminence, the latter, however, taking in an increasing degree the *romane* form.

Apart from the early irruptions, the wars of more modern times brought many Germans into Alsace. Some were refugees fleeing from religious struggles. In the sixteenth century, moreover, a number of Saxon colonists were attracted to the region by the silver-mines of Sainte-Marie. Other miners came on various occasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both to Sainte-Marie and Sainte-Croix. At an earlier date, however, in the vicinity of Schirmeck there was an influx of French Switzers from Porrentruy and Délémont.

There are considerable differences between the Germanic dialects of Alsace. In the Sundgau the vernacular is akin to the German of the neighbouring parts of Switzerland. In the north the idiom resembles that of the Palatinate. The people of Colmar speak differently from those of Strasburg. In fact different pronunciations will be found in neighbouring communes, and corrupt words derived from French are of frequent occurrence. Before the annexation of 1871 the dialects of some districts were almost incomprehensible to the Badeners dwelling just across the Rhine. Now and again, by fits and starts, the Government of the old régime wished to impose the French language on the people, but it never did anything to encourage a knowledge of it. Pfister declares that not a word of French was taught in the schools of Alsace and the Germanic part

of Lorraine until the Revolution of 1789. The children, says he, did not even learn to use Roman letters when writing. In the signatures which figure in the old registers, German Gothic is invariably employed. The knowledge of French was long confined to the upper classes and to the townsfolk of the middle class. They did not acquire it, however, at the University of Strasburg, for all the teaching there was in Latin. They picked it up chiefly by journeys through France, sojourns in Paris, or intercourse with French functionaries and military folk. At the time of the Revolution the National Convention was desirous of remedying this state of affairs, and even voted a credit of 600,000 francs to that effect. But the wars, the disorderly state of the country, the general unrest, prevented the realization of such a project, and it was only at the time of Lezay-Marnezia's prefectship,* and again during Louis Philippe's reign that the Alsatian schools underwent real improvements.

Since 1871 the German rulers have done their utmost to extirpate the French language. They speedily made their own speech obligatory for all public bodies. In 1888 they imposed it on the petty law-courts of the so-called Welsch districts. They even forbade parents to give French Christian names to their children. René had been a very popular name in the annexed part of Lorraine—it recalled the duke who defeated Charles the Rash of Burgundy—but the Germans would not suffer its bestowal on any infant. Some little trouble ensued, but finally the Latin form Renatus was accepted.

Not a word of French has been taught in the elementary schools of Alsace since the annexation.

* See p. 119, *ante*.

In that connexion I remember the refrain of a song, supposed to be sung by an old Alsatian schoolmaster:

La patrouille allemande passe,
Baissez la voix, mes chers petits,
Parler français n'est plus permis
Aux petits enfants de l'Alsace !

Even the use of such words as *merci*, *bonjour*, and *mademoiselle* (when addressing a school-teacher) was forbidden the village children. In the secondary schools a little French was allowed, but the hours given to its study were as far as possible curtailed. The efforts to banish the French language were particularly great in the Welsch districts, notably those of Lorraine—such as Château-Salins, whose French race was subjected to the most odious Germanization. Metz, moreover, was largely transformed by the influx of thousands of Teutons, who imposed their guttural speech upon its population.

Although ethnology and language help one to determine nationality, they can only be relied upon within reasonable limits. Let nobody imagine that identity of idiom necessarily implies identity of opinions, sentiments, or aspirations. Not only among the so-called Welsch of Alsace, but also among the Germanic section of the people, the neighbouring Germans were always unpopular. They were contemptuously designated as Schwabs, and there were many Alsatian legends and tales turning them to ridicule. One may well ask, also, what distinguished men were ever given by Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. At long intervals in the old days a soldier, a scholar of some degree of eminence, arose, to whom Germany might lay claim, though the former was usually a mere soldier of fortune ready to serve the master who paid him best, and the latter, a writer who did not

pen his treatises in a tongue suitable for horses—as, I think, Francis I once put it—but in Latin, the then universal language of the learned. On the other hand the distinguished men given by Alsace and Lorraine to France have been strikingly numerous. I have mentioned several in the course of these pages. It would take me too long to compile a complete list, and I should not have sufficient space to include it in this volume, but here is a partial one jotted down *au courant de la plume* :

Soldiers—Marshals and Generals : Fabert, Ney, Victor, Custines, Oudinot, Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, Gérard, Kellermann, Kléber, Lefebvre, Lobau, Molitor, Duroc, Lasalle, Rapp, Drouot, Scherer, Thiébault, Chevert, Schramm, Exelmans, Richepanse, Uhrich, Paixhans, Sigisbert Hugo,* Margueritte, Poncelet, De Reiset, Virgile Schneider, Haxo, Jacqueminot, Houchard, Lallemand, Courtot, Eblé, D'Andlau, Athalin, Vescot, Barbier, Béchot, Braun, Conrad, Denzel, Gelb, Klinger, Klœcker, Menjaud, Reibell, De Reinach, Sparr, Scherb, Wehrlé, Freytag, Scholt, several Berckheims, Dettlingens, Montjoyes, Rosens, Wurmsers,† and Waldners. Also the Gayets, *intendants généraux des armées*, Morel and the Lorentzes, father and son, *chirurgiens en chef des armées*, and Wolf Wagner, the daring guerilla-leader in the Vosges in 1814. A hundred others might be added to the foregoing.

The names of two admirals also occur to me : Bruat, who commanded in the Black Sea during the Crimean War, and De Rigny, who commanded the French squadron at Navarino.

Statesmen, diplomatists, politicians, high functionaries, etc. : Jules Ferry, Raymond Poincaré, President of the Republic, Baron Louis, the Gerards, the Dietrichs, Bouchotte, Count Roederer, Marbois, Merlin de Thionville, Boulay de la Meurthe, Thouvenel, Buffet, Eugène Schneider, Küss, some of the Montjoyes and Rosens, Schirmer, Keller, the Kœchlins, Scheurer-Kestner, Maréchal, Edmond Valentin, Schneegans, Ketlé, Bamberger, Humbert, Grosjean, and many others.

Ecclesiastics : Cardinal Mathieu, Cardinal Louis (not Edouard) de Rohan, De Lenoncourt (Bishop of Metz),‡ Gobel (the "constitutional" Bishop of Paris), Pastor Oberlin the philanthropist, Abbé Grégoire, Abbé Wetterlé, etc.

Scientists : Jules-Henri, Léon and Lucien Poincaré, Bartholdi, Barral, Crevaux, Pilâtre de Rozier, Maurice Lévy, Mathieu de Dombasle, Pariset,

* His son Victor Hugo was born at Besançon, but the family belonged to the Xanthois district of Lorraine, between Remiremont and Pont-Saint-Victor.

† Apart from the one, a native of Strasburg, who entered the Austrian service and was defeated by Napoleon at Castiglione.

‡ He promoted the union of Metz with France in 1552.

Sonnini, several Dollfuses, etc. Pasteur was at one time prominently connected with the University of Strasburg.

Writers and Scholars: J. Le Duchat, the brothers Lacretelle, Saint-Lambert, Gilbert, Grimoard, Arbois de Jurainville, Xavier Marmier, Edmond About, André Theuriet, Erckmann-Chatrian, Maimbourg, F. B. Hoffmann, J. J. Oberlin, Jean Macé, P. J. Stahl, J. J. Weiss, Scherer, Nefftzer, Siebecker, Chevalier de Boufflers, J. G. Eckhard, the Engelhardts, Jung, Renouard de Bussière, Andrieu, Arnold, the Pfisters, Maurice Barrès, Louis Ratisbonne, Paul Verlaine, Ardouin-Dumazet, Buchoz, the Ancillons, Alfred Mézières, Pixérécourt, Eugène de Mirecourt, Mme. de Graffigny, Mme. Aimable Tastu, etc. Edmond de Goncourt, moreover, was born at Nancy.

Artists, including painters, sculptors, engravers, musicians, etc.: Claude Lorrain, Clodion, Ligier-Richier, Jacques Callot, Sébastien Leclerc, Baron Gérard,* Isabey, Bastien-Lepage, Henner, the Drouins, Bartholdi, the Drollings, Jean Lamour, Leprince, Adolphe Yvon, the four Guérins, Gustave Doré, Nocret, Théodore Jung, Sigisbert Adam, Chassel, the Dietterlins, Corti, Bugard, Henriet, the Levraults, Bauer, Spierre, F. Dauphin, Jundt, Grandville, Hansi, Legrand, Jacquot, Maréchal, Ambroise Thomas, Monvel and his daughter Mlle. Mars, Mme. Arnould-Plessy, etc.

Although those lists are very rough and imperfect they will at least give some idea of what Alsace and Lorraine have contributed to France's fame and culture. Some of the old Lorrainer dukes, sprung from the House of France, were able as well as valiant princes. The Guises, who, whatever their policy may have been, were remarkable scions of the ducal line, belong essentially to French history. Many of the other nobility whom I have not mentioned were men of distinction, sometimes of high merit. The four *grands chevaux* of Lorraine—the Haraucourts, the Lenoncourts, the Du Châtelets, and the Lignevilles (the last-named house alone now existing)—were not merely *grands seigneurs*, but often also skilful captains and expert counsellors. The same may be said of the so-called *petits chevaux*, among whom, besides Bassompierre and the Haussonvilles, whom I have mentioned, there were some of the Choiseuls, the Hunolsteins, the Lambertyes, the Oberkirchs, the

* Though born at Rome he was a Lorrainer. A similar remark applies to others in the above lists. Blood comes before birthplace.

Nettancourts, the Beauvaus and the Rougemonts. Men eminent in industry were numerous in both provinces. The artisans were often famed for their work, and one and all, whatever their station or calling, have constituted an essential part of the great heritage of France, in which Germany can claim no share.

As I have said before, both Lorrainers and Alsatians long loved their independence. But when, situated as they were between two strong Powers, it became a question of uniting themselves with one or the other, they preferred France to Germany. Certainly the old Bourbon régime was a bad one, but in common with all the rest of France—for it was the same throughout the country—Alsace and Lorraine endured it without seeking separation. When the great Revolution came and brought invasion in its train, none were more eager to throw back the aggressors from across the Rhine. The "lost brothers," as the Germans called them, were by no means anxious to join their reputed kindred. As I shall show in my next chapter the provinces were of precisely the same mind in 1870–71, and a cry of grief and protest went up when the evil day of annexation dawned. The majority were constrained by circumstances to remain and become German subjects, but thousands fled and have been fleeing ever since, as I shall presently establish. Never, indeed, has there been a cessation of the exodus to escape the odious Prussian rule. Even the storks, those familiars of the old Alsatian villages, come thither, it is said, in far smaller numbers than they used to do. It was held in the long ago that these birds would only dwell in lands of freedom. At all events those which come to Alsace in the fair season nowadays seem to distinguish between the

genuine old inhabitants and the many settlers imported from across the Rhine and planted throughout the province. One might think these feathered visitors possessed of sufficient sagacity to discriminate between liberty's friends and her open or covert enemies.

VIII

THE WAR OF 1870–71

A Glance at the Causes of the Struggle : The first French Defeats—Wissembourg, Wörth, Forbach : The Occupation of Nancy : The Battles near Metz : The March on Sedan : General Pajol and Napoleon III : The Siege of Strasburg : Edmond Valentin's remarkable Adventures : German Exactions at Strasburg : The Sieges of Phalsbourg, Schlestadt, Neuf-Brisach, Verdun, Metz, Longwy, Bitche, and Belfort : German Excesses and Oppression in Alsace-Lorraine : The Preliminaries of Peace : Protests of Alsace-Lorraine.

In former books of mine I discussed the causes of the war which broke out between France and Germany in 1870*; and desiring in the present volume to confine myself as much as possible to Alsace and Lorraine, I do not propose to deal with general matters at any length. The reader may be reminded, however, that both Bismarck and Napoleon III were bent upon war. The former, who already contemplated the creation of a new German Empire for Prussia's benefit, realized that this would only be possible if the power of France were diminished, and the better to effect that purpose he resolved from the very outset to deprive the French of their strip of frontier on the Rhine by annexing the province of Alsace. The seizure of a part of Lorraine was an after-thought inspired by the great successes of the German armies. In September 1870, after Sedan, but whilst Bazaine was still holding out at Metz, Bismarck told Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister of the National Defence,

* See "The Court of the Tuileries, 1852–1870"; "My Days of Adventure: the Fall of France, 1870–71"; and "Republican France, 1870–1912."

that the price of peace at that moment would be Alsace and an indemnity of two *milliards* of francs, but that if the war were prolonged he should also demand a part of Lorraine and a much larger indemnity. Little if anything was said about Lorraine at the outset of the war, but the question of annexing Alsace at once came to the front in Germany. As I have previously stated, geographers and others had prepared the way for such a demand, but, curiously enough, though the Prussian Press supported it, far more eagerness on the subject was displayed in Southern Germany—Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria—where quite a clamour arose in favour of annexation.

I have said that Napoleon III was, like Bismarck, bent on war. Elsewhere I have explained that dynastic considerations in view of the Republican propaganda carried on in France, resentment on account of the diplomatic victories which Bismarck had gained over him, and, quite reasonably, apprehension inspired by the excessive aggrandizement of Prussia, conjointly inclined the Emperor to commit his fortunes to the arbitrament of the sword. His home policy had been ratified by a plebiscitum not long previously, and his secret correspondence with certain German princes and statesmen since the war of 1866, which had so largely modified the German map, led him to think that although Baden might support Prussia, neither Bavaria, nor Württemberg, nor Hesse would do so. Saxony, moreover, might well be on his side. The correspondence on which Napoleon based those hopes was discovered at the château of Cerçay* during the war, and utilized by Bismarck to compel the implicated governments to

* The country residence of Eugène Rouher, the statesman whom the Emperor most trusted.

assent to the foundation of an empire for Prussia's benefit. But Napoleon also relied on the support of Austria and Italy. The former had absolutely entered into a covenant with him, but she was not ready, and it was arranged that the war should only take place in 1871. Some Hungarian politicians betrayed everything to Bismarck, who, resolving that he would not wait for Napoleon's convenience, forced his hand by means of the Hohenzollern candidature to the Spanish throne. Thus events were precipitated. Forgery and the suppression of facts brought Bavaria and Württemberg to the side of Prussia, the offer of papal Rome to Italy prevented her intervention, Austria—with the Hungarians supporting the Prussian cause—could do nothing, and so, in July 1870, came the war which Napoleon and the Archduke Albert had planned for the ensuing spring.

There were undoubtedly moments when the Emperor felt that he was entering upon a very hazardous course, but he was largely influenced by a military coterie which, whilst full of patriotism, was deplorably ignorant of the deficiencies of the French army, and the superiority in many respects of its destined antagonists. The country generally did not desire war. This is shown by the large number of telegrams in which prefects and other provincial functionaries gave expression to the hopes and opinions of the people inhabiting their respective departments. A strong desire for the preservation of peace was expressed in almost every instance, but, as I indicated in the first chapter of this volume, Bismarck so managed affairs that only by absolute subservience to Prussia could France have avoided the great struggle.

Napoleon assumed the command of his armies,

and main head-quarters being established at Metz, he arrived there on July 27. Six days later there was a little engagement at Saarbrücken, where the Prussians were attacked by some of the troops commanded by General Frossard, who had previously been governor to the young Imperial Prince. It was at the Saarbrücken affair that this lad received the so-called Baptism of Fire. Next, the Prussian Army commanded by the Crown Prince (afterwards Emperor) Frederick crossed the Lauter, and on August 4 General Abel Douay, who had some 9000 men with him, was surprised at Wissembourg by two Prussian Army Corps and a large Bavarian contingent. Douay's Turcos put up a gallant fight, but were hopelessly outnumbered. Douay himself was killed in the engagement, and Pellé, who commanded the Turcos, took his place, and placing the colours in the centre of his column succeeded in retreating in good order upon Soultz. The French had suffered severe losses, but they left only one gun in the enemy's hands. It appears that the sub-prefect of Wissembourg sent a warning to Marshal MacMahon at the very outset of the affair, but it was impossible to dispatch assistance to Douay in time to prevent a defeat.

Two days later, the 6th, MacMahon himself was attacked by the victorious Prussians, whom he had not expected to encounter before August 8. He had requested that an army corps under the orders of General de Failly, a former aide-de-camp of the Emperor's, might be placed at his disposal, and he expected its arrival. It has been stated that de Failly was instructed to move on Lembach near Wörth, but by some mistake went towards Lemberg near Bitche. On the day of the battle he certainly was near Bitche, but no attempt was made to telegraph to him

there, and only by a chance telegram sent by a railway stationmaster did he learn, too late, of the desperate straits in which the Marshal found himself. One of de Failly's divisions (commanded by Guyot de Lespart) reached Niederbronn merely in time to assist in covering to some extent the retreat of MacMahon's forces. That was after the valiant but unavailing charge of the Cuirassiers at Morsbronn. The enemy paid a stiff price for his victory, losing 489 officers and over 10,000 men in killed and wounded, the losses of the French, who were grievously outnumbered, amounting to about 6000. Unfortunately, in the *débâcle* with which the battle ended, the Germans took 9000 prisoners. Some 2500 fugitives of the 5th Corps made their way to Bitche, others threw themselves into Phalsbourg, whilst others managed to reach Strasburg. Among the last was a detachment of naval men under Rear-Admiral Exelmans and Captain Dupetit-Thouars. At a later period of the war the navy contributed many officers and men to the French armies, but the contingent under Exelmans had been provided in view of the contemplated passage of the Rhine by MacMahon's forces.

On the day of the Marshal's unfortunate reverse Frossard's troops also were defeated at Forbach. Bazaine was then at Metz or in its vicinity with the bulk of the French army, but in vain did Frossard telegraph to him for help. Not a man was dispatched. It must be said that great jealousy prevailed among some of the French commanders of the time. When, directly war was declared, Generals de Failly and Frossard received important commands, it was commonly said that they owed their appointments solely to the fact that they were favourites of the Emperor, and in order that each might have an opportunity to

win the *bâton* of a Marshal of France. De Failly was undoubtedly a better courtier than commander, but Frossard was really possessed of military ability. Bazaine, however, arrogant, churlish, and grasping, was never inclined to propitiate the fortunes of others. "Let him win his *bâton* himself!" he growled when he received Frossard's entreaty for assistance.

The Germans pressed onward. They occupied Forbach, Haguenau, Sarreguemines, and Saint-Avold. There was extreme agitation in Paris. The Republican party demanded that the Emperor should surrender the chief command to Bazaine, in whom, despite his Mexican record, they foolishly placed their trust. Napoleon had to give way and Bazaine assumed sole control of the so-called Army of the Rhine. But matters went from bad to worse. On August 9 Phalsbourg was invested and the little fort of La Petite-Pierre, now called Lützelstein, evacuated. On the 10th the Germans gathered round Strasburg, and two days later the enemy entered Nancy, which apart from its virtually untrained National Guards had no garrison or means of resistance at its disposal. Much was made of this incident at the time. The capital of Lorraine had surrendered to six Uhlans, it was said. It is true that a few of the Prussian scouting cavalry rode into the town to inspect it, but this happened after the municipality, left defenceless by the military authorities, had agreed to surrender to a large force in the immediate neighbourhood. Such odium as attached to this unfortunate episode should have fallen by rights on the army leaders and not on the unlucky inhabitants. The National Guards were quite ready to do their duty, but Nancy, then absolutely an open town, was not given a chance to prove her mettle.

At this time the Bavarian forces were streaming through the undefended passes of the Vosges. MacMahon had fallen back on Châlons, where the remnants of the troops which had fought under him at Wörth were reinforced, partly by regulars but also partly by raw Mobile Guards on whom little reliance could be placed. Meanwhile, a great struggle began in the vicinity of Metz. On August 14, 16, and 18 were fought the desperate battles on which the respective combatants bestowed the diverse names of Borny, Courcelles, Panges, Vionville, Mars-la-Tour, Gravelotte, Rezonville, and Saint-Privat. In this series of memorable engagements the French, under the supreme command of Bazaine, were opposed both by the army of the Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia and that of his cousin Prince Frederick Charles. There was much stubborn fighting with heavy losses on both sides, and French and Germans alike must be credited with many deeds of great gallantry. But Bazaine was either a much less competent man than was generally supposed, or else was wilfully foolish and jealous of certain commanders under him.

As I wrote in "Republican France," "he was largely responsible for the French failure at Rezonville (otherwise Gravelotte) when he retreated before inferior forces at a moment when he might have crushed them—a decisive blunder which influenced the whole of the war. Again, at Saint-Privat he abandoned Marshal Canrobert and the 6th Army Corps to the 300 guns and 100,000 rifles of the Germans, when, at a word from him, the whole French Imperial Guard, with ten regiments of cavalry and a powerful artillery force, might have hastened to Canrobert's support and modified the issue of the battle." In the result Bazaine's army was driven back under

Metz, and the siege of that stronghold then virtually began.

At a council held at Châlons, where Napoleon III now found himself with MacMahon, it was at first decided to retreat on Paris and cover the capital, but General Count de Palikao, Minister of War, telegraphed that if Bazaine were abandoned a Revolution would break out in Paris. Thereupon it was resolved to try to join Bazaine's army by going at first northward and then descending upon Metz from that direction. Thus began the memorable march which terminated at Sedan. I have been perusing recently a rare pamphlet which is a reprint of a letter addressed in July 1871 to the "Moniteur Universel" by General Count Pajol, who was senior aide-de-camp to Napoleon at the time of the Sedan disaster.* A strictly honourable man, evincing no extreme partisan feelings, Pajol states in this letter that the Emperor was in no wise responsible for the march on Sedan. He did not in any degree weigh on MacMahon's plans, he took no initiative and offered no opposition to any of the movements of the army, although (so Pajol had reason to believe) he did not approve of all of them. Having surrendered the chief command, however, he remained merely a spectator of what ensued until, by his orders, the white flag was at last hoisted at Sedan. He had nothing whatever to do, says Pajol, "with the strategical dispositions which took the army to Mouzon and from Mouzon to Sedan. . . . The Marshal (MacMahon) was free to move whither he chose. The Emperor was fatally included in the shipwreck of our

* "Lettre de M. le Général Pajol sur la Bataille et la Capitulation de Sedan," Paris, Typographie A. Pougin, 1871. The general was the son of General Claude Pajol, who contributed powerfully to the success of the French at Montereau in February 1814—the last but not the least of the many victories achieved by the genius of Napoleon I.

army and all he could do was to try to save the crew of the vessel whose captain he no longer was. This he did by giving orders at three o'clock (Sedan, September 1) to hoist the white flag. Half an hour later it would have been hoisted by the order of one or another general, but meanwhile thousands more of our soldiers would have been killed." The position was, indeed, a hopeless one at that moment.

Pajol pays a tribute to the Emperor's courage. He rode about the field of battle exposed during five hours to a cross-fire of shot and shell. After General de Courson and Captain de Trécesson had been wounded near him he ordered most of his escort to take cover and was then attended only by Pajol, equerry Davilliers, Dr. Baron Corvisart, and Captain d'Heudicourt, an orderly who was unfortunately killed. I mention those facts because it would be a great mistake to imagine that Napoleon III was a coward. Moreover, whilst imputing to him much responsibility for the war, I quite agree that he was not responsible for the fatal march which ended so disastrously. That desperate step was inspired by the Council of Regency in Paris dominated by fear of a Revolution.

There are two other matters which I may mention here—one, to which I referred in my first chapter, is that the French might have saved themselves had they chosen to violate Belgian neutrality. However, neither MacMahon nor Ducrot nor Wimpffen (who in turn succeeded the Marshal after he had been wounded) was willing to do so. The second point is that the French were caught and cornered at Sedan by the much superior marching powers of the Germans, who in order to intercept their antagonists had to cover a longer distance in shorter time.. In those days, be it noted, the French infantry wore no socks,

and their boots, generally inferior to those of the Germans, were often absolutely vile. If an infantryman is to give of his best, care must be taken of his feet, and he must be well and comfortably shod.

On September 4, three days after the disaster of Sedan, Paris overthrew the imperial régime, and the provinces followed the capital's example. It had become virtually impossible to relieve Bazaine, who was invested around Metz by the army of Prince Frederick Charles, whilst that of the Prussian Crown Prince, victorious at Sedan, marched towards Paris, which was soon to be besieged. Besides Metz several other strong places of Alsace-Lorraine were now beleaguered. I have already mentioned that the Germans gathered around Strasburg on August 10. Before the war the troops there had been commanded for a considerable time by General Ducrot, who repeatedly sent important warnings to the Tuileries respecting German military affairs, and who afterwards played a conspicuous part in the defence of Paris. At Strasburg he had been succeeded by General Alexis Uhrich, a native of Phalsbourg and in 1870 sixty-eight years of age. The forces at Uhrich's disposal consisted of 6000 infantry, partly fugitives from Wörth, 600 artillerymen, 100 naval men, a few battalions of the Mobile Guard, and about 7000 National Guards provided by the town itself. There were no engineers at all. The total number of the defenders was roughly about 20,000. At first the besieging army was limited to a force of Badeners commanded by the Grand Duchy's War Minister, General von Beyer. He fell ill, however, and was replaced by General von Werder, who had a very large body of troops under him, including 2200 engineers and 7000 artillerymen, with about 250 guns.

The Germans marched on the city to the strains of a song specially composed for the occasion, and beginning:

O Strasburg, O Strasburg, O most beauteous city,
Where there are so many soldiers,
And where, as thou canst scarce remember,
My glory and my pride have been imprisoned
For more than a hundred years!
Yes, daughter of my heart, for more than a century
Hast thou wasted away in the arms of a Welsch brigand!
But soon shall thy grief take end!
O Strasburg, O Strasburg, city of my heart,
Awake from thy dismal dreams!
Thou shalt be saved, the hour has sounded,
Thy brothers haste to thee in crowds!

We shall soon see what treatment these loving brothers reserved for the city of their hearts.

On August 13 Uhrich made an ineffectual attempt to prevent the investment. That same day the first shell was fired at the town and fell on a house in the part known as the Marais Vert. On the morrow Werder arrived, and established his head-quarters at Mundolsheim. Under him were Decker, commanding the artillery, and Mertens, commanding the engineers. The last named had directed the operations against the Danish entrenchments of Düppel in the Schleswig-Holstein war.* His presence before Strasburg indicated the importance which was attached to the taking of the city, which Bismarck, by the way, called "the key of the house."

The actual bombardment began on August 15, the feast of the Assumption and also the "Fête Napoléon," whilst Uhrich and others, officers and functionaries, were attending high mass at the cathedral.

* Had we only combined with France to support Denmark in 1864 Prussia would never have possessed the Kiel Canal, which was originally a Danish scheme. We are paying a heavy price for the sad folly of our Mid-Victorian policy. Verily, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children.

On the night of the 19th the enemy's cannonade became more violent, and on the morrow Uhrich responded by bombarding Kehl across the Rhine. This the Germans stationed at Kehl impudently denounced as a crime, the town being an open one. However, Uhrich's cannonade did comparatively little damage, the inferiority of his guns to those possessed by the Germans being manifest. On August 24 the enemy's bombardment became terrific and that day, the anniversary of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, the city's precious library was set on fire. A younger generation has expressed its horror at the destruction of the library of Louvain, to which some writers have referred as though there had been nothing in history like it since the loss of the famous Alexandrian library. But although there were no submarines, nor aircraft, nor poisonous gases in 1870–71, the methods of the Germans in respect to other matters were precisely such as one has witnessed in recent times.

Forty-seven years ago British people, not being directly affected, refused, for the most part, to believe in the many reports of German atrocities in France, and afterwards took the Germans to their hearts and allowed them the free run of our country. But survivors of the *Année terrible*, those who were then in France, myself included, can bear solemn testimony that there then occurred deeds every whit as foul as any that have disgraced the German name since 1914. To me the wonder has always been that our people should so long and so grossly have misunderstood the German character. It is false to say that Prussianism has been the growth of more recent years. It was already rampant under the present Kaiser's "illustrious grandfather," who bequeathed it to his descendants. It was not then, perhaps, quite so widespread

throughout Germany as it is to-day, but where it existed it was quite as unscrupulous, quite as contemptuous of every common principle of humanity. Yet to this did our nation long close its eyes!

The Strasburg library contained 150,000 books and 1539 manuscripts, among which were many Greek ones of the greatest value. There was also the Abbess of Saint-Odile's "Hortus Deliciarum," written in 1180 and embellished with Byzantine designs; there was a Carlovingian missal with silver lettering on purple parchment; there was the missal of Louis XII of France; there was a collection of the Canonical Laws of 788, another of the ancient laws and regulations of Strasburg, a great number of documents relating to Gutenberg, his lawsuits, and the early period of the art of printing, together with very many choice *incunabula.* All perished in the flames, and when Werder — a somewhat singular character who combined the hypocrisy of a pietist with the affectation of a coxcomb—heard of it, his only reply was: "The ruin of Strasburg lies on her own head! Why did she not surrender? As for those books, why were they not removed to cellars?"

At the same time as the library was destroyed, the so-called Aublette building, occupying one side of the Place Kléber and containing the Museum of Paintings, was set on fire. No attempt to extinguish the flames was possible. From eight o'clock in the evening until eight the following morning, projectiles rained upon the devoted city, the enemy largely concentrating his fire upon the conflagrations he had kindled. On the following night the cathedral was bombarded, and set on fire by means of incendiary shells, the roof being perforated and the leaping flames licking and damaging the lofty tower. Four of the finest old

mansions of the city were at the same time reduced to ruins, and even the hospital was shelled.

On August 27 Uhrich contrived to send a messenger to the Minister of War in Paris to say that Strasburg was doomed unless assistance could be sent. No help was possible, however, At night on the 29th the enemy opened his first parallel. On September 1 the garrison essayed a sortie and inflicted somewhat severe losses on the Germans. But the bombardment continued unabated, again and again igniting fresh conflagrations and battering and shattering the stone ornaments of the unfortunate cathedral. The enemy's second parallel was opened on September 6, and his third on the night of the 11th. At this moment the International Red Cross Society of Geneva sent some delegates to the German general asking him, in the name of humanity, to allow children, women, and aged men to leave the city. He replied that women, children, and old folk constituted an element of weakness among the defenders of a besieged place, and that he would suffer none to depart. At last, however, after repeated requests he authorized the departure of 800 persons, the town then containing, with its garrison, 82,000!

News of the fall of the Empire had reached Strasburg, and the Imperial Prefect, Baron Pron, had been deposed. Küss, the energetic and popular Mayor, did his utmost to succour the unfortunate townsfolk, repeatedly risking his life whilst going on his many errands of mercy. On September 20, and under very dramatic circumstances, a new official appeared upon the scene, this being Edmond Valentin, whom the National Defence Government had appointed Prefect in the place of Baron Pron. Son of a hospital inspector and born at Strasburg in 1823, Valentin had origi-

nally been an officer in the foot Chasseurs, or light infantry, and had become a deputy at the time of the Second Republic. When war broke out in 1870 he was acting as a professor at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich. His services were declined by the Imperial Government but the National Defence at once accepted them, whereupon, starting for Strasburg, he managed to penetrate the enemy's lines at Barr on September 8. Failing to get through the advanced posts he made for the Rhône and Rhine Canal, but was arrested on the 10th by a German reconnoitring party, who kept him a prisoner for fifteen hours. He was released, however, as an American passport had been provided him, and his knowledge of our language enabled him to pass himself off as a citizen of the U.S.A. At last he got to Marten in front of Strasburg citadel, and was about to swim the canal when a German settler denounced him as a " suspect " and he was again arrested and carried to Kehl. On being released he was ordered to quit the zone of operations within twelve hours, and thereupon followed the Rhine as far as Maximilianau, whence, by way of Landau, he contrived to reach Wissembourg.

Some of his Alsatian compatriots befriended him, and having been suitably disguised he again repaired to the German lines. He spent two days at Schilligheim (called by the Alsatians Schillick) a village close to Strasburg, and was there hidden by friends in the very house where Werder and his staff took their meals. Though fellow-Alsatians often recognized Valentin none betrayed him, but on the contrary they all endeavoured to assist him in his enterprise. At last, on the evening of September 19, he hid himself between two German batteries, and crawled on his hands and knees through sundry maize and potato

fields until at the expiration of three-quarters of an hour he reached the bank of the Aar. There he was observed both by the besiegers and the besieged, who both opened fire upon him. He plunged into the water, but on reaching a swamp was forced to go back and swim again until he came to a damaged covered way. Several times he fell into craters caused by the bombardment, but he eventually reached the moat of Lunette 57, where for half an hour he tried to attract the notice of some sentinel. He could see nobody, however, and, although his teeth were chattering with the cold, he again took to the water until perceiving some men on the rampart he called to them desperately: "France! France!"

Half a dozen shots replied to him, but a corporal of the 78th of the Line, named Fauchard, seeing that he was alone, stopped the firing and took him prisoner. He asked to be conducted to Uhrich, but it was too late to do so and he was therefore shut up for the night in a pavilion in the Lippsgarten. In the morning, at six o'clock, he was brought before the Commander, to whom he at once made himself known, taking from his sleeve, in which it had been sewn, the decree, signed by Gambetta, appointing him Prefect of the department. Unfortunately Valentin's heroism and devotion were of no avail. Eight days later Strasburg capitulated, and the Germans outrageously punished him for his alleged impudence in daring to pass through their lines.

On September 10 the bombardment had fired and destroyed the theatre of Strasburg. By the 26th several of the advanced works were in the enemy's possession, there were two breaches in the bastions, and virtually every building on the west side of the town was in ruins. Under these circumstances a

Council of War was held on the 27th, and decided that everything had been done that military honour demanded, and that although the enemy had not yet attempted an assault, it was necessary to surrender. The Germans insisted that the rank and file—excepting the National Guards, who were merely to be disarmed—should be prisoners of war, but offered to allow Uhrich and the other officers to retire into France on condition that they would not serve again during the war. Seventy-five officers preferred, however, to share the captivity of their men. The roll of the capitulation includes 451 officers, 17,111 men (including the National Guards), *plus* 2100 sick and wounded, 1843 horses, and 1070 pieces of artillery, most of which were quite obsolete. There were also stores of munitions, clothing, and camping *matériel*, and the Germans also appropriated over £400,000 found at the local branch of the Bank of France as well as a quantity of silver at the Mint, with which they struck one-franc, two-franc, and five-franc pieces stamped with the effigy of the ex-sovereign Napoleon III! Yet even this was not sufficient for German greed. The city was fined for its resistance, every householder whose home had not been destroyed having to pay a sum of money averaging about £30 a head! One reason given for this abominable proceeding was the municipality's staunch refusal to send an address of congratulation to the King of Prussia on the success of his valiant troops!

The Germans greeted the hoisting of the white flag with loud hurrahs. Their dear lost brothers were delivered! Poor lost brothers, bombed, slaughtered, and despoiled! Werder exhibited his piety by going in state first to offer up a thanksgiving at the Catholic cathedral and then another at the

Protestant church of Saint Thomas. Meanwhile, Edmond Valentin was arrested and carried off to the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, where he remained in close durance until the conclusion of peace. Before that occurred every adult inhabitant of Strasburg was fined £1 for daring to elect to the French National Assembly deputies opposed to the cession of Alsace to Germany.

In 1872 a French Court of Inquiry presided over by old Marshal Baragney d'Hilliers reported unfavourably on Uhrich's defence and capitulation. The chief grounds for the court's censure were dereliction of duty in failing to improve the fortifications by means of stockades for which there was ample material, in proposing surrender to the Council of Defence, in capitulating before assault had taken place, in omitting to burn the regimental colours, spike the guns, and destroy the munitions, in not asking for the honours of war and permission for the officers to retain their swords, and the rank and file their private effects. Uhrich was also blamed for giving his parole and allowing his officers to give theirs. That judgment was in accordance with the French Army Regulations, but some may consider it unduly severe. The town had stood a siege and bombardment of more than forty days. The inhabitants had endured great sufferings. Some 8000 of them were without shelter, hundreds of houses having been destroyed. Further, 300 civilians had been killed and 1700 injured by the bombardment. Including the military, the total number of deaths was 961, and of injuries and cases of severe illness, 3800. A fairly impartial German writer of the time, Colonel Borbstaedt, held that the defence was not brilliant, for it was deficient in initiative; but he considered that

surrender without waiting for assault was justified owing to the great numerical superiority of the German forces, and the absolute impossibility of successfully defending at least one of the breaches in the bastions.

Let us now glance at the defence offered by some of the other Alsatian fortresses. Phalsbourg, having been invested on August 9, was bombarded on the 14th, after which most of the besiegers departed, leaving for a while only two battalions of Landwehr near the town. The garrison was commanded by Major Taillant and consisted of about 1900 men (including 200 wounded), who had figured in the defeat of Wörth. There were sixty-seven guns on the fortifications. The inhabitants were full of patriotic ardour and did their utmost to assist the military. The enemy having been strongly reinforced, the bombardment began afresh on August 31 and a good deal of the little town was absolutely shattered by it. In the middle of September the cannonade became terrific, but the garrison still made a stout resistance. At last the siege turned into a blockade, with only intermittent bombardment, as had been the case in 1814,* when Phalsbourg was beleaguered from January 6 to April 16. In 1870 its resistance lasted for four months, and it then succumbed solely because not a scrap of food remained for the garrison or the inhabitants or a single shell for the defence. This birthplace

* The siege of 1814 formed the subject of Erckmann-Chatrian's story "Le Blocus"—a work which, whilst including several patriotic incidents, was largely inspired by the author's dislike of Napoleonism and militarism. The story is supposed to be told by an old Alsatian Jew, who, amidst his perpetual fears, occasionally does a brave thing, and atones in some measure for his habitual covetousness by several acts of kindness and generosity. The commingling of patriotism and hatred of war, which these authors displayed in so many of their stories, appears to have been largely prompted by their antagonism to the régime of Napoleon III.

of so many valiant French generals entered into no capitulation. When Commandant Taillant found he could hold out no longer, he spiked his guns, had their carriages sawn into pieces, burnt his colours, ordered every one of the 12,000 rifles in his possession to be broken, poured water on his remaining powder, and finally, on December 12, sent word to the German commander that the gates of Phalsbourg were open. Three-fourths of the town were in ruins.

The enemy came down upon Colmar towards the middle of September. The only forces there were some Mobile Guards belonging to Paris and Lyons, and some local National Guards. These men put up a gallant fight at the bridge of Horburg, but as they had not a single piece of artillery with them they had to fall back in the direction of the Vosges. With them went an Alsatian heroine, Antoinette Lix, a post-mistress, who, trained by her father, an old soldier of Napoleon's, had fought as a man in the last great Polish insurrection, and who, after the retreat from Colmar, became a *franc-tireur* and ultimately served with the Garibaldians. Having occupied Colmar on September 14, the Germans descended upon Mulhouse, which they also entered. But Schlestadt was not disposed to surrender. It had 122 guns (none, however, rifled) and a garrison composed of half a battery of regular artillery, four batteries of the Mobile Guard artillery, 1200 men of that same guard, and a detachment of 280 Lancers, the whole being under the orders of Commandant de Reinach, a member of a well-known Alsatian family. On October 10 General von Schmeling, who commanded the besiegers, demanded a surrender, which was refused. The town was then subjected to a severe bombardment, and by the 23rd the whole of its south-western portion was in flames.

On the morrow Reinach was constrained by circumstances to capitulate. Schmeling next invested Neuf-Brisach, where Lieut.-Colonel de Kerhor, a Breton judging by his name, had some 5000 men, including 1000 regulars, with thirty-eight rifled guns and others. On his refusal to surrender, the enemy bombarded him from the vicinity of Alt-Breisach across the Rhine, and when Kerhor retaliated by cannonading the German town, Schmeling had the audacity to protest, declaring that Alt-Breisach was an open town and that, if it were again bombarded, he would render Kerhor personally responsible for the outrage! Kerhor was weak enough to act on Schmeling's injunction, and after the destruction of Fort Mortier, one of his advanced works, he capitulated (November 10). Before doing so he at least rendered his guns useless, and effectually damped his powder.

If we leave Belfort aside for a little while, this was the last resistance offered by a fortress in Upper Alsace, but the Vosges were swarming with *francs-tireurs*, and at Bitche in Northern or Lower Alsace, and in various parts of Lorraine a determined struggle still continued. The defence of Bitche, though far less widely known than that of Belfort, was a very gallant one. Indeed this little stronghold held out even longer than Belfort. When General de Failly quitted it after the battle of Wörth, he left considerable provisions behind him. The original garrison was one of only 800 men, who were increased to 2500 by the arrival of fugitives from Wörth. The governor was Lieut.-Colonel Tessier, and the defences mounted fifty-eight guns. At the outset, when the municipal council assembled, the mayor, a man of Bavarian origin named Lauthenslager, wished to surrender, but was overruled and dismissed by his colleagues.

He went over to the enemy, as might have been expected, and after the annexation the Germans, the better to oppress their dear delivered brethren, reappointed him to the mayoralty. However, although the enemy added several large siege guns to his artillery and by September 22 half Bitche had been destroyed, there was still no surrender. Thus a blockade ensued, and lasted until March 23, 1871, that is, for twenty-two days subsequent to the ratification of the preliminaries of peace by the French National Assembly at Bordeaux, and even then it was only on express orders from their own Government that Tessier and his men evacuated Bitche. The besieging force was one of Bavarians. Tessier contemptuously refused their offer of the honours of war, and declared that he would only depart provided that the enemy kept out of sight and did not enter until the last French soldier had left. The Germans, unwillingly rendering homage to such stalwartness, agreed to those stipulations, and only then, with their colours flying, their band playing, their fourteen field-guns and their train of munitions, did Tessier and his gallant troops march away from the little fortress which the Germans had failed to take but which was, unhappily, to be surrendered to them by the terms of the treaty of peace. Episodes, such as that of the resistance of Bitche, help to console one for much that happened during the Franco-German War.*

Take also the case of little Longwy, known in Louis XIV's time as the Iron Gate of France, but nowadays a place of small importance. Defended by rather more than 4000 men, with a couple of hundred guns, it held out until Janaury 25, 1871—surrendering

* Tessier was afterwards promoted and appointed to the command of the fort of Vincennes, near Paris.

only three days before Paris capitulated, and it was in ruins when the Germans entered. Montmédy was, for a time, neglected by the enemy, not being absolutely invested until the first fortnight in November, when, without warning, it was suddenly bombarded. About a month later (December 14) it had to surrender. Thionville, north of Metz and known nowadays by the silly German name of Diedenhofen, was also bombarded without warning, and at one time subjected to a rain of incendiary bombs, each containing about a gallon of inflammable liquid, for fifty-four consecutive hours. The Germans were asked to allow the women and children to depart. Not they! So the massacre of the innocents continued. All of that, of course, was long ago, but the thought of it still makes my blood boil. Our German "friends" of the later seventies, the eighties, the nineties, and the earlier years of the twentieth century have done little worse even during the present war. Like father, like son: fiendishness has always lurked in the German blood.

Let me now mention Verdun, which in 1870 decisively wiped away the stigma attaching to its lamentable surrender during the Revolutionary War. Invested on August 24, it was savagely bombarded by the Germans in mid-October, and afterwards intermittently for some weeks. Baron Guérin de Waldersbach commanded the defenders, who on October 28 made a vigorous sortie in which they destroyed several of the German batteries. Early in the following month, however, news arrived that Bazaine had surrendered Metz on October 27. Discouragement then overtook the defenders of Verdun. Nevertheless they were able to demand honourable conditions. The regular troops were to be prisoners of war, but they were to retain their knapsacks and private effects. The

Mobile Guards, born at Verdun, were to go free, the Gendarmes also, and to retain their horses. No war contribution or indemnity was to be levied on the town. The enemy troops were not to be billeted on the inhabitants, but lodged in the barracks and other military buildings. The town itself and all the war *matériel* which it contained were to be restored to France at the conclusion of peace. Those conditions having been accepted by the Germans, they entered Verdun on November 9.

We will now turn to Toul, whose defence of about five weeks' duration was a kind of *revanche* for the prompt surrender of Nancy, the latter's young men having thrown themselves into this fortress directly the defence of their native city was abandoned. The commander of the garrison was a cavalry major (*chef d'escadron*) bearing the Alsatian name of Huck. He had with him altogether 2296 men, including 130 of the 4th Regiment of Cuirassiers (whose depot was at Toul, and to which Huck himself belonged), 25 artillerymen, 500 linesmen, and 30 gendarmes, the remainder being Gardes Mobiles of the department, untrained, undisciplined, and mostly without uniforms. There were about 200 pieces of artillery. It is recorded that the mayor and the municipal council wished to surrender, but were overruled. Having so few trained troops Huck was obliged to abandon some outer works, a sign of weakness which encouraged the enemy to attempt an assault on August 16. This was vigorously repulsed, however, and a siege on the old lines ensued. After bombardment came a second assault which also was defeated, and the Government of National Defence in Paris, on hearing of this stout resistance, decreed: "The town of Toul has deserved well of the country."

During the latter part of September several large siege guns were brought to bear on three sides of the town, and the ensuing destruction was so great that on the 23rd Huck put up the white flag. The Germans were particularly furious with the defenders on account of their praiseworthy achievement in intercepting the direct road to Paris during five weeks. Nevertheless, after the war, a Court of Inquiry blamed Huck for having surrendered before the fortifications were breached, and for having failed to destroy his guns and his munitions. At the same time it praised him for having prolonged the resistance in spite of the urgent requests of the municipality and the enemy's insidious offers.

According to the army regulations of France, and those of most other countries, there has to be an inquiry into every capitulation that takes place. It was this circumstance which led to the court-martialling of Bazaine. Owing to the unrest that prevailed in France after the war, the division of the electorate into sharply antagonistic parties, the large number of Bonapartist officers still in the service, and the recent tragic rebellion of the Paris Commune, Thiers did not wish to put Bazaine on his trial, for fear lest the stirring up of a prodigious quantity of mud should lead to another national convulsion. But the President's hand was forced by the military regulations, and thus when, in August 1872, the Court of Inquiry, presided over by old one-eyed Marshal Baraguey d'Hilliers, a relic of Napoleon's days, reported that Bazaine had "caused the loss of an army of 150,000 men and the stronghold of Metz, that the entire responsibility was his, that as Commander-in-Chief he had not done what military duty prescribed, that, on the contrary, he had held with

the enemy an intercourse unexampled in history, and that he had delivered to the enemy the colours which he ought to have destroyed, thereby inflicting a crowning humiliation on brave men whose honour it was his duty to defend"—when, I say, those findings had been recorded, the Marshal's trial could not be prevented. Moreover, he himself was constrained by those findings to apply for a court martial.

It is quite impossible for me to give in the pages remaining at my disposal a full account of what happened at Metz after Bazaine and his forces were invested there. Many books have been written on the subject, one of the latest and best (issued during the present war) being "Metz en 1870," by M. Félicien Champsaur. Here I have only enough space to mention a few matters connected with Bazaine's betrayal of his country's highest interests. A few sorties certainly took place, including some provisioning raids, but no real military effort commensurate with the situation was made. Moreover, Bazaine did not attempt to avail himself of certain means of communication with the rest of France which were known to exist. He preferred to correspond secretly with Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, and even to ask him for information, a proceeding absolutely forbidden by the provisions of the Military Code. The Marshal was largely influenced by a scoundrel named Régnier, whom the Germans allowed to pass through their lines, and who falsely pretended to be an authorized emissary from the Empress Eugénie. After a time Bazaine sent General Boyer to the German head-quarters at Versailles to negotiate with Bismarck on his behalf. Boyer, on returning to Metz, repeated a pack of German lies respecting the state of France and its inability to continue the war,

though he well knew what great efforts the National Defence was making. In corresponding with Frederick Charles, Bazaine frequently referred to his eventual "surrender"; he confided to Régnier, whom he ought to have distrusted, that he had only sufficient provisions to last until mid-October; he refused to attempt a *coup de main* on Thionville, which was only a few miles distant and was still holding out in order to prevent the great quantities of provisions stored there from falling into the enemy's hands. Further, Bazaine persistently concealed facts or falsified them in his intercourse with his fellow-marshals, Canrobert and Lebœuf, and the other principal commanders who were with him at Metz; and, briefly, he left undone many things which military honour required him to do, and did others which military honour and duty forbade. He sacrificed his country's interests to his personal ambition, wishing to induce the Germans to allow him and his troops to march out of Metz and restore the fallen Empire, with, however, the young Imperial Prince on the throne, and he, Bazaine, as High Constable and Protector of France! That is the explanation of his treachery. He was not bribed. Ambition turned him from the path of duty.

But the Germans played with him, and when his provisions were exhausted he was constrained to surrender at discretion—giving up to the enemy the strongest fortress of France and an army of 170,000 men (including sick and wounded), with 53 eagles,* 1665 guns, 278,280 rifles and muskets, 22,984,000

* In defiance of the Marshal's orders many colours were burnt by indignant officers. Like Küss at Strasburg, Maréchal, the Mayor of Metz, did much to alleviate the sufferings of the civilian population. Both of these devoted men died virtually of grief not long after the war.

cartridges, 3,239,225 projectiles, and 412,734 tons of powder. Bazaine's trial began on October 6 and ended on December 10, 1873. He was convicted and sentenced to death, but the capital penalty was altered by his old comrade MacMahon, who had become President of the Republic, to one of imprisonment for life. With the help of his wife, however, and the connivance of sundry officials, Bazaine escaped from the fort of the Ile Sainte-Marguerite, off the coast of Provence, in August 1874. He afterwards led a miserable life in Spain, where he died in 1888.

In striking contrast with the defence of Metz was that of the little fortress of Belfort. Standing on an eminence in a gap between the Vosges and the Jura Mountains, at the edge, as it were, of the Alsatian alluvial plain, and at a point where the Alsatian, Lorrainer, and Jurassian races may be said to mingle, Belfort once belonged to the Counts of Montbéliard, who erected its original castle in the twelfth century. It passed to the Counts of Ferrette, and through them to the House of Austria, from which it was wrested by the French during the Thirty Years' War. Bestowed as an appanage on Mazarin the lordship remained in the possession of his heirs until they became extinct. Inhabited in 1840 by about 6000 people, and in 1870 by about 8500, the town now has a population of nearly 40,000—many Alsatians having migrated thither in order to escape German rule. The surrounding district, which since 1871 has formed the so-called Territoire de Belfort, returning one senator and two deputies to the French Legislature, comprises 106 communes, and, inclusive of Belfort itself, there were at the last census more than 100,000 inhabitants. Owing to the lack of coal and minerals the region was formerly of an almost exclusively agricultural

character, but since the Franco-German War numerous textile works, rope-walks, clock- and watch-making establishments, distilleries, forges, machine and wire works have sprung up there, all testifying to Alsatian industry and enterprise.

Besieged in 1813–14 by Austrian and Bavarian forces, Belfort, defended by Major Legrand and 3000 men, did not surrender until after Napoleon's abdication at Fontainebleau. In the following year, when the famous General Lecourbe commanded the garrison, it put up an equally able defence against the Allies. In 1870 the town was commanded by an engineer *chef de bataillon*, later Colonel, Denfert-Rochereau, a native of Saint-Maixent, famous for its military school. At that time Belfort, although fortified, was by no means the strong place which it has since become, but Denfert-Rochereau's technical knowledge enabled him to improvise additional defences, particularly as the enemy did not advance upon this corner of Alsace until the end of October. The garrison consisted of 17,000 men, of whom 3500 were regulars of the 45th and 84th Regiments of the Line. There were a few artillerymen, but the bulk of the defenders belonged to the Mobile Guard, some of them being Alsatians and Vosgians, others coming from the Garonne country, others from the Lyonnais and adjacent districts. There were also some mobilized National Guards, and a detachment of *douaniers* (customs officers) from the Jura region. The defenders had 374 guns, with a stock of 75,000 shells and 80,000 round shot, and enough fresh or salt meat and flour to last them for 145 days. Numerous departures had reduced the civilian population to 4000, to feed whom the municipality had sufficient meat for 142 days. The siege began on November 3 and lasted

for 103 days, 73 of which were days of bombardment, during which the Germans vainly rained 98,000 shells on the gallant little stronghold. No such bombardment had been previously recorded in history.

The investing army was commanded by General von Treskow, a typical German officer. When (as in the case of Strasburg) the Swiss asked him to allow the departure of the women and children still remaining in the town, offering to send them to Porrentruy, he peremptorily refused the application, declaring that the women of Belfort were perfect fiends who cut off the noses, tore off the ears, and put out the eyes of all German prisoners who fell into the hands of the garrison. When the Swiss delegates requested permission to enter the town to inquire into that monstrous—and I may add, preposterous—charge, Treskow replied that he would not allow them to pass through his lines, and that if they should attempt to do so he would have them shot.

The hospital was bombarded, though it flew the Red Cross flag, and many sick and wounded were killed in their beds. But that mattered little to General von Treskow. At eight o'clock on the morning of February 13 Belfort fired its last cannon-shot. Denfert-Rochereau had just received orders from the National Defence Government to surrender the town in accordance with the terms of the armistice concluded with Germany. The garrison was to receive the honours of war and retire to the interior of France. The evacuation took place a few days later, the commander withdrawing with 340 officers and 12,582 men. He had lost 32 officers and 4713 men during the siege, nearly a thousand of these having been killed. More than that number were in hospital at the time of the capitulation, and the remainder had

been taken prisoners whilst defending some of the outlying works. The Germans entered Belfort on February 18,* and remained there until August 2, 1873.

Bartholdi, the able Alsatian sculptor, commemorated the defence of Belfort by designing the famous Lion, which still looks down on the gallant town, to which Antonin Mercié contributed the almost equally famous monument which shows an Alsacienne supporting a dying Mobile Guard. The town and its territory —all that remained to France of Alsace from 1871 to the advent of the present war—was saved to her by the patriotism of Thiers. Bismarck hankered for this strip of ground. He well knew that possession of the Gap of Belfort would greatly facilitate any future German invasion of France. But Thiers was no fool, and when Bismarck offered, in return for Belfort, to forgo the German entry into Paris, the French statesman did not hesitate. He preferred that his country should suffer a few days of humiliation rather than incur irremediable detriment. Thus was Belfort saved.

In Lorraine, south-west of Nancy and Lunéville, there is a little town called Rambervillers. On October 9, 1870, it was attacked by 2000 Germans, and vigorously defended by a couple of hundred National Guards, good marksmen all, who kept the enemy at bay for several hours and inflicted many casualties on him before retreating. Twenty-one wounded Guards fell into the hands of the Germans, who immediately put them to death. Appended to the arms of Rambervillers is the Cross of the Legion of Honour conferred upon the town for the gallant

* Not a drop of wine nor a crust of bread then remained in the town, and the generous Swiss had to succour the inhabitants.

effort which it made. During the siege of Strasburg the neighbouring *bourg* of Robertsau was burnt to the ground by the Germans for harbouring enemies. The invaders seized all the tobacco in the Alsatian depots and sold it for £24,000. At Erstein, a little tobacco-growing locality, they demanded the delivery of 6000 cigars in three days. In the canton of Barr, inhabited by some 19,000 people, they sent out requisitions for 54,000 kilogrammes of bread, 72,000 kilogrammes of meat, 18,000 kilogrammes of rice, 1800 kilogrammes of salt, the same weight of roasted and 2400 kilogrammes of unroasted coffee, 50,000 litres of wine, and vast quantities of oats, hay, and straw. They continued to seize goods even during the armistice, and great sales of plunder often took place in the German frontier towns.

To such a point were the dear Alsatian brothers and sisters despoiled that the articles offered at those sales comprised sheets, table-cloths, curtains, wearing apparel, including aprons and women's caps, clocks, and even children's toys. Plunder was sometimes conveyed to Switzerland and sold there. The *Basler Nachrichten* announced in January 1871 a sale of articles of furniture from La Malmaison, formerly belonging to the Empress Joséphine, also of tables, *secrétaires*, and *consoles* which had belonged to Mme. de Pompadour, Louis XV, and Louis XVI, a painting by Baron Gérard depicting some children carried off by an eagle, another by Gérome representing some young Greeks inciting cocks to fight, and described as having secured a first prize at the Paris Salon of 1847, together with a number of sketches by Delacroix. Other lots included monumental clocks, fine porcelain and glass, and a great variety of tools filched from Alsatian factories and workshops.

But to return to the German exactions and outrages, a levy of £40,000 was made on the little Alsatian town of Haguenau, which was further required to lodge a division of Badeners. Nancy was on one occasion fined £4000 because a shot which injured nobody was fired in one of its streets. A telegraph wire having been broken near a little village the inhabitants had to pay £80. Three carts were requisitioned at a hamlet near Baccarat, but one could not come as the horse had fallen lame. Thereupon, money being scarce among the peasantry, they were ordered to provide 50 litres of brandy under penalty of being shot. When Prince Frederick Charles stayed at Nancy, 40 fowls, 25 lb. of butter, and 100 eggs had to be provided for his table every day. His staff also requisitioned 1500 bottles of champagne. Several inhabitants of Nancy were murdered. There were many outrages at Briey, Arrancy, Flavigny, and other places. In fact, robbery and debauchery became rampant and continued even during the armistice. Prisoners of war were often treated infamously. There was the case of a train on its way through Lorraine to Germany, in which French soldiers were kept without a scrap of food for eighty-seven hours in the depth of winter. Many were frozen, and were pulled out dead. Yet people talk of present-war outrages as if they were absolutely unparalleled in modern times.

A certain Herr von Bonnin had been appointed Governor of Lorraine, and a certain Count Renard became Prefect of Nancy. Both of these men were of French ancestry, but they ruled in the very best Prussian style. In January 1871 a party of *francs-tireurs* stole into the little village of Fontenoy, near Toul, and destroyed a bridge there. The Germans

immediately set fire to Fontenoy without allowing its inhabitants to remove a scrap of furniture from their houses, or even their few remaining cattle from their sheds. Further, Herr von Bonnin imposed on the province of Lorraine a special fine of £400,000.* Next, Count Renard requisitioned 500 men to rebuild the bridge. None being forthcoming he declared that he would render all master-men responsible. Finally he issued an order stating that if the necessary men were not at the railway station within twenty-four hours, he would have a certain number arrested and immediately shot. That was one of the customary forms of terrorism. In the industrial towns of Alsace-Lorraine men and women were constantly requisitioned to work for the Germans, even as Belgians, French folk, and others have been requisitioned during the Great War. In some instances, when sufficient labour could not be procured, machinery was taken to pieces and removed to Germany so that it might be utilized there. This course was taken with respect to some of the works at Ars-sur-Moselle, near Metz.

In spite of the German occupation many Alsatians and Lorrainers managed to get away and join the armies which Gambetta improvised. The idea that their dear delivered brethren should flee from their rule and fight against them particularly incensed the

* Bonnin's decree ran as follows: "In the name of His Majesty the King of Prussia. Whereas the bridge of Fontenoy, to the east of Toul, has been destroyed, it is edicted that the circumscription under the general government of Lorraine shall pay an extraordinary tax of ten millions of francs as a fine for this offence. Notice thereof is hereby given to the public, with this remark, that the apportionment of the fine will be subsequently determined and that payment thereof will be enforced with the greatest severity. The village of Fontenoy was immediately set on fire, with the exception of a few buildings reserved for the occupation of the troops. Done at Nancy, January 23, 1871. *The Governor-General of Lorraine:* VON BONNIN."

invaders, and the following decree was eventually issued:

WE, Wilhelm, King of Prussia, etc. etc., hereby make the following order for the General Governments of Alsace and Lorraine:

I. Whosoever shall join the French forces shall be punished with the confiscation of all his present and inheritable property and be banished for a period of ten years.

II. Sentence shall be pronounced by a judgment of our General Governments, and, three days after its publication in the official part of a journal issued in either Government, shall enter into force and be carried into effect by our civil and military authorities.

III. All payments due at any later date to the condemned shall be accounted null and void.

IV. All deeds of gift or bequests made by the condemned out of his fortune after the publication of this decree shall be null and void.

V. Whosoever desires to quit his place of residence must request permission to do so from the [German] Prefect, stating, in writing, the cause and object of his departure. Whosoever absents himself for more than one week without permission to do so shall be held legally to have joined the French forces.

VI. The Prefects shall prepare and control presence-lists of all male inhabitants.

VII. The money accruing from all confiscations shall be paid into the treasuries of the General Governments.

VIII. Return from banishment shall entail the penalty specified by Clause 33 of the Penal Code.

IX. This decree shall enter into force on the day of its publication.

Done at Head-quarters at Versailles, this 15th December, 1870.

WILHELM.

v. Bismarck.
v. Roon.

However, the Alsatians and Lorrainers paid no heed to that decree. When an old veteran of the Crimea, Magenta, and Solferino, named Bischer, belonging to Mulhouse, was arrested and cast into prison by the Germans for recruiting young Alsatians for the French army, he replied to every question put to him by his captors, "I did my duty." He was shot for his so-called offence, but this did not prevent nearly 20,000 Alsatians from acting as he and others suggested. I have said that the Vosges mountains swarmed with *francs-tireurs*. These men

carried on an unremitting partisan warfare against the smaller German detachments. The enemy was also quite infuriated by the daring exploits of some bands operating between Colmar and Belfort.

The instances which I have given of German greed and oppression might be multiplied many times over. Were I to recount all that occurred the story would be as long and as gruesome as those attaching nowadays to Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Russia, Serbia, and Rumania. There are, of course, categories and degrees of infamy. Generally speaking, the Prussians distinguished themselves by their innate passion for plundering. They were the thieves of the invading armies. The Southern Germans were more particularly the sensualists: the Bavarians excelled in crimes of lust. Brutality was rampant among one and all. Even as has been the case in these later times the words *Krieg ist Krieg* (War is war) were ever on the lips of the invaders, like a kind of refrain, as if its incessant repetition would serve to justify their innumerable crimes.

Whilst Alsace and Lorraine and other parts of France were under the German boot, Paris was beleaguered, and the tide of war spread on one hand to Picardy, Artois, and Normandy, then more southward to the Orléanais and Touraine, and thence more westward to Maine and the confines of Anjou. Eastward it rolled from Lorraine and Champagne into Burgundy and Franche-Comté. Gambetta made stupendous efforts to save his country. Faidherbe wrestled with the Germans in North-Western France, Chanzy contended with them in the west-central provinces, Bourbaki and Garibaldi struggled to stem the invasion in the east. But might triumphed over right, and when starving Paris fell on January 28,

1871, an armistice ensued as a preliminary to peace. It was arranged that a French National Assembly should be elected to decide upon the German peace terms. Alsace-Lorraine, already doomed—the Prussian sovereign's decree set out on a previous page shows that in December he already regarded the coveted territory as a German possession and its inhabitants as his subjects—replied to the cruelty of fate by a defiant vote. To the intense anger of the Germans, only candidates opposed to severance from France were elected by the two provinces.* Küss, the popular Mayor of Strasburg, polled most votes in the Bas-Rhin (Lower Alsace), securing more than 98,000 suffrages. In the Haut-Rhin (Upper Alsace) Keller-Haas headed the poll with 67,725. Denfert-Rochereau secured 54,911; whilst Gambetta, whose name implied the rejection of the peace terms, was elected by both departments, polling in the first named 56,721 votes, and in the second, 51,957. He was returned by seven other departments of France, including the Seine (Paris), but he resolved to sit for the Strasburg division of Alsace.

Directly the wretched terms of peace became known the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine signed a strong protest, which was deposited with the officials of the new Assembly. It claimed for the territories whose annexation was proposed, the right to refuse to be separated from France. It recited that the provinces had constantly sacrificed themselves for the country's grandeur, and had sealed with their

* Their names were Fr. André, Albrecht, Bardon, Boersch, Boell-Titot, Ed. Bamberger, S. Chauffour, Denfert-Rochereau, Dornès, Deschange, Gambetta, Jules Grosjean, F. Hartmann, Humbert, Kablé, E. Keller-Haas, A. Koechlin, Küss, Melsheim, Th. Noblot, Ostermann, V. Rehm, Rencker, A. Saglio, A. Scheurer-Kestner, Schneegans, A. Tachard, E. Teutsch, etc. All the foregoing signed the protest against annexation by Germany.

blood the indissoluble bond which united them to France. It protested that France could not consent to the cession to Germany, that, although the Assembly had been elected by universal suffrage, it had no right to ratify an agreement destructive of the national integrity. It urged (unhappily in vain) that modern Europe could not afford to ratify the surrender of the provinces, allow a people to be seized like a herd of cattle, and remain deaf to the repeated protests of the threatened populations. Surely, for the sake of her own preservation, Europe could not sanction such an abuse of force. The peace proposed would constitute a mere truce, and prove a permanent incitement to war. Finally, the protest said:

> We take our compatriots of France and the Governments and nations of the whole world to witness that we shall regard as null and void any decrees or treaties, votes or plebiscites, which may consent to the surrender in favour of a foreign country of all or part of our territories of Alsace and Lorraine. We hereby proclaim that the right of the Alsatians and the Lorrainers to remain members of the French nation is and shall remain inviolable, and we swear, not only for ourselves but for our constituents, our children and their descendants also, that this right shall be for ever claimed by all ways and means, and against all usurpers.

On February 17, 1871, this declaration was read to the Assembly by deputy Keller, who had commanded the *francs-tireurs* of the Upper Rhine. But events unhappily took their course, and on March 1 the Assembly was called upon to ratify the preliminaries of peace. After speeches against the treaty had been delivered by Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Edgard Quinet, and Keller, Grosjean, previously Prefect of the Upper Rhine under the National Defence, read a final protest on behalf of Alsace-Lorraine. It ran as follows:

> Before the peace negotiations began, the representatives of Alsace and Lorraine deposited with the *bureau* of the Assembly a declaration setting forth on behalf of those provinces in the most positive manner their deter-

mination and their right to remain French. Handed over, in defiance of all justice and by an odious abuse of force, to the domination of foreigners, we have a last duty to discharge. We yet once again declare that a covenant which disposes of us without our consent is null and void. The liberty to claim our rights remains open to one and all in such manner and degree as our consciences may dictate. At the moment of leaving this hall, where feelings of dignity prevent us from staying any longer, the supreme thought in the depths of our hearts, despite the bitterness of our grief, is one of gratitude to those who for six months past have not ceased to defend us, and of unchangeable attachment to the country from which we are torn by violence. All our wishes will follow you, and we shall wait, with firm confidence in the future, for the time when regenerated France will resume control of her great destiny. Your brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, separated at this moment from the common family, will retain a filial affection for France in her absence from their hearths until the day arrives when she will resume her place there once more.

When the vote on the preliminaries of peace was taken, 546 members of the Assembly voted in favour of their ratification, whilst 107 deputies pronounced against them, these including a number of men who were then already, or became subsequently, conspicuous figures in France. Among the names I find those of Gambetta, Clemenceau, Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Edgard Quinet, Henri Brisson, Emmanuel Arago, Edmond Adam, Arnaud de l'Ariège, Floquet, Dorian, Edouard Lockroy, Duclerc, Ranc, Scheurer-Kestner, Félix Pyat, and Generals Chanzy, Billot, and Mazure. Of the whole band which thus rejected the conditions imposed on France by Germany, Clemenceau, I believe, is now the only survivor. If he still be Prime Minister of France on the hastening day of a Victorious Peace he will know how to redeem the promise implied by the vote he gave on March 1, 1871. The definitive treaty imposed by Bismarck was signed at Frankfort on May 10, and ratified by the French Assembly eight days afterwards.

IX

UNDER GERMAN RULE

Bismarck and Alsace-Lorraine : Why the Provinces were not annexed to Prussia : French Money as Compensation for German Frightfulness : The Option between French and German Nationality : The Exodus and the continued Emigration : Population of the Provinces in various Years : The Impossibility of a Plebiscitum : Education and Germanization : Officialdom in the Provinces : Dr. von Moeller's Régime : Bishop Raess's great Betrayal : Some Quotations from Bismarck : Episodes in later History—War Scares, the Schnæbelé and Zabern Affairs, etc. : The Constitution of 1911 : The Head Functionaries and the Chambers : The Garrison early in 1914 : Concluding Remarks.

In addressing the first Reichstag of the newly constituted German Empire in August 1871, Prince Bismarck, whilst declaring that it had been necessary to incorporate Alsace-Lorraine with the territory of Germany "in order to ensure the peace of Europe," candidly admitted that the aversion of the people was an obstacle. "We shall strive, however," said he, "to win back to us this population by means of Teutonic patience and affection (!). We shall, in particular, grant communal liberties." On a second occasion he stated that it was better Alsace-Lorraine should hold the position of a province of the Empire than be annexed to Prussia (which had been his original intention), because he had found that the inhabitants had greater sympathy with Germany generally than with the Prussian State. He expressed his belief in two influences, the material well-being of the existing generation and the educational training

of the next. It was in furtherance of the first object, he said, that he had accepted a part of the war indemnity payable by the French in notes of the Bank of France, so that he might at once have some funds to supply the needs of the population to whom those notes were familiar. As regards the other part of his programme, as he had been given a free hand to deal with the provinces until the early part of 1873, he issued an edict enforcing compulsory education after the German pattern on every child above six years of age. Much was made of the fact that a sum of nearly £2,000,000 was given to Strasburg in compensation for its bombardment, but this money came out of the indemnity of 200 millions which France had covenanted to pay to Germany. It is, of course, easy to be generous with other people's money. One curious little circumstance may be mentioned in connexion with the rebuilding of Strasburg. Vauban's old citadel had been very badly battered by the bombardment, and the Germans, extremely proud of this achievement, invited people to come and inspect their work of destruction, setting up a notice-board and a turnstile, and charging each visitor a franc as admission fee. Even Barnum might have shrunk from such a proceeding.

In connexion with the mode of payment of the French war indemnity, the provinces suffered from the curtailment of some privileges which had been previously agreed upon. There was to have been free trade between them and France until the middle of 1873, but, in return for Bismarck's assent to modifications in the French payments, it was agreed that the free-trade period should cease at the end of 1872. Moreover, the right of the inhabitants to choose individually either French or German nation-

ality was in like manner curtailed, the period during which this might be done being finally limited to about fifteen months after the signing of the Treaty of Frankfort, in such wise as to expire on September 30, 1872. Staehling, an Alsatian writer, contrasts this limitation with the delay granted in 1815 to the inhabitants of the Sarre region, annexed to Prussia and Bavaria, who were allowed six years to determine their nationality. Thiers was rightly anxious to free France from the German occupation and for that purpose to expedite the payment of the war indemnity; but Pouyer-Quertier, his Minister of Finances, was a Norman cotton-spinner, jealous of the Alsatian textile manufactures, and though he smoothed away certain financial difficulties, he calmly sacrificed the interests of the Alsatians and Lorrainers.

At the outset, vast numbers of the people declared for French nationality. Many thousands flocked right eagerly into France, the population of such towns as Nancy, Lunéville, Saint-Dié, Belfort, etc., going up by leaps and bounds. Many important businesses were likewise transferred to French territory. But when the Germans made it known that all persons electing to remain French citizens must leave Alsace-Lorraine, thousands found themselves in positions of the greatest difficulty. Many were tied to the soil which furnished their only means of subsistence, and discovered that if they decided for French nationality they must part with their little all. Thus the number of options in favour of France dwindled as time went on. There was at first no great influx of German agricultural settlers, willing to buy the land, though directly peace had been signed thousands of German workmen poured into the annexed territory to take the places of the Alsatian

workmen, who, not being linked to the soil like the peasantry, had speedily removed to France, where they well knew that their nationality, their industry, and their skill would make them welcome.

At the same time the provinces became a dumping-ground for German officials. In the very midst of the war Bismarck had received 6000 applications for official posts in Alsace-Lorraine, and the annexation brought swarms of would-be functionaries in the train of the hordes of tobacconists and vendors of indecent photographs by whom the provinces were overrun. On the other hand, as the option period drew to a close, a woeful exodus of Alsatians and Lorrainers set in. For the reasons I have mentioned, this exodus was not so great as it might have been; but in the last days of September 1872, between sixty and seventy thousand people crossed the new frontier into France, accompanied at times by little carts in which their few household goods were piled, or carrying packs on their shoulders, or trudging along with wheelbarrows containing bundles, crockery, pans, and pots. Our *Annual Register* for 1872 grossly underestimates the number of Alsatians and Lorrainers who left their homes. Thousands never formally signed any declaration of option, but simply fled. The same publication is in error in stating that when the German army conscription lists were opened more young men presented themselves for service than could be received into the ranks. That is simply a piece of bunkum derived from some German source. From 1872 to the present time there has always been a shortage of conscripts, notwithstanding the planting of thousands of Germans in the provinces. In 1878 the territory was liable to contribute 40,833 conscripts, but only 4822 came forward willingly, and

3981 were sentenced, in their absence, to imprisonment for having emigrated without permission to France, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. Further, in 1884, among 38,872 who were liable there were as many as 9854 defaulters. Even German official statistics have testified year after year to the reluctance of young Alsatians and Lorrainers to enter the army.

As for the German emigration statistics they apply only to open, authorized emigrations from Alsace-Lorraine to distant parts of the world. To France emigration has never been officially authorized. The returns merely mention 517 emigrations from the provinces in 1913, and 249 during the pre-war period of the following year.— Equally recent French figures respecting the number of Alsatians and Lorrainers naturalized in France are not available, but I find that as late as 1911 there were 1990 such naturalizations. An examination of the successive issues of the *Annuaire statistique de la France* from 1873 to the above-mentioned date would show that, in spite of all prohibitions and obstacles, at least 1,000,000 people have come into the old country in order to escape from German rule.

The population of Alsace-Lorraine has undoubtedly increased since the annexation, when it was approximately 1,200,000. In 1885 it stood at 1,564,355, in 1890 at 1,603,107, in 1900 at 1,717,451, and on December 1, 1910 (the last census), at 1,874,014, representing a density of 333·9 inhabitants per square mile. There was then a majority of males—965,625 against 908,389 females. The increase which has taken place in spite of so much emigration has been due to the fact that both the Alsatians and the German settlers are very prolific races.

The facts which I have recited will, I trust, make

it clear that any referendum to the population of the present time would be absolutely misleading unless the German settlers and their offspring were absolutely debarred from voting. Moreover, even if the principle of a referendum were accepted all sorts of difficulties would arise. When Savoy and the county of Nice were united to France in 1860 the population remained undisturbed. Its voting was not influenced by the presence of any foreign element. It only knew that the Italian Government was willing to assent to the cession, provided the inhabitants agreed to it. In the case of Alsace-Lorraine it is very different, and not only would it be right to eliminate the German element from the voting, but, on the other hand, equity would require that the scattered Alsatian-Lorrainers should be consulted.

There are large numbers in France, many thousands also in Algeria, where grants of land were made to them by the French Government. Thousands have also settled in Switzerland, and, further, thousands have gone to North and South America and other lands beyond the seas. There is even a considerable number in Great Britain, whose interests are in the hands of the Ligue patriotique des Alsaciens-Lorrains, of which Lord Balfour of Burleigh is the honorary president, the acting president being M. E. Roudolphi.* Now in eight out of every ten cases the emigration from Alsace-Lorraine has not been voluntary. These people were attached to their native land, and in all probability under French rule an immense majority of them would have remained at home. Excepting in the four years 1872, 1888, 1889, and 1890, when the proportion of emigrants from French territory to countries beyond the sea was 27, 61, 82, and 54 per

* The offices are at 18 Green Street, Leicester Square, London.

100,000 of the population, the average since 1871 has never exceeded 20 per 100,000, and has often been considerably less.* It may be taken that even the total emigration from France, which would include that to continental States, has been less than that from any other country in Europe—the emigration from the United Kingdom almost invariably supplying the highest figures.

The great bulk of the Alsatian emigrants left their territory on account of the German rule. If a plebiscitum were taken it would be necessary to include in it all the elements of the people dispersed in one and another land. Is such a thing possible, thinkable even? But the French Government—through the President of the Republic, successive Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries—has absolutely repudiated the idea of any plebiscitum at all.† Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France by force, and must be unconditionally returned. What of the German settlers? I may be asked. I answer that sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander also; but I will add that the French Republican Government has always been more equitable, more generous, than that of the German Empire, and I am quite sure that when Alsace-Lorraine is restored to France the German settlers will be allowed far more time and freedom to decide on what course they will take than were granted to the inhabitants in 1871–72.

An important point in Bismarck's programme was the diffusion of education on German lines. A new university for Strasburg was nominally inaugurated on May 1, 1872. The building in which that university

* *Annuaire statistique de la France*, 1913.

† An important letter on the subject, written by M. Roudolphi, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on August 30, 1917.

is now installed had not then been erected. A certain Professor Brüch was placed at the head of the new institution, which was afterwards endowed by the Reichstag, and attended at first almost exclusively by a couple of hundred young Germans deliberately imported into the province. Just before the present war, however, this university, which includes faculties of theology, law, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, and natural science, had 178 professors with an annual attendance of about 1100 students. I am not at all inclined to dispute the fact that the German rulers have greatly increased the number of schools in Alsace-Lorraine. In 1911 there were 2974 of all categories with 3123 male and 2586 female teachers. The curriculum in these schools may well be a good one in respect to all ordinary matters, but the great purpose of the schools has been to ensure domination and Germanization. To influence the children, to make them forget that their land was ever a French province, has been the supreme object of the German authorities.

I referred in a another chapter * to the obstacles placed in the way of pupils desirous of learning the French language. Many parents, however, steadily strive to undermine the Teutonic influence. Although French may not be spoken currently it is often taught and used secretly at home, where, in the lamplight during the long winter evenings, tales of the days when Alsace-Lorraine was part of France are often told. One must therefore only accept with several grains of salt the official statistics, which state that in 1910 1,634,260 persons spoke German exclusively, and that the French-speaking population was limited to 204,262. Many more would have spoken French openly had they only dared. So zealous have the

* See p. 222, *ante*.

authorities always been to promote Germanization by educational means that more than half of the customs revenue and of the proceeds of other indirect taxes has been assigned to the schools.

The names of the officials of one and another category fill page after page of the *Staatshandbuch* for 1914. There is almost no end to them, and undoubtedly many are not only officials but spies as well, who watch sedulously for any signs of disaffection. Mr. H. J. Cowell, of the Social and Political Education League, mentioned in an interesting lecture delivered by him during the present war, and afterwards printed in pamphlet form,* that Germany had done everything to keep Alsace-Lorraine in remembrance that she was a conquered country; and he quoted the following pertinent remarks emanating from an Alsatian: "I went to the tribunal for some matters in which I was concerned. My judges hail from the Palatinate. I afterwards went to the registrar, the custom-house, and the railway station. The registrar is a Pomeranian, at the custom-house there is a Württemberger, and at the station a Saxon. I buy a stamp for a letter. Who is behind the little window at the post office? A Prussian. I should like to complain about these Germans occupying all our positions. But what would be the use? The editor of the local newspaper is a Westphalian. These people not only occupy the best positions, but dispose, in their own way, of all the vacancies in a country where I was born and bred, and where my family has lived for many centuries."

At the outset the German rulers had an extremely difficult time of it, on which account they built no fewer than seventy-six new prisons for the accommo-

* Published, with an introduction by M. Roudolphi, by the Ligue patriotique des Alsaciens-Lorrains, 18 Green Street, W.C.

dation of malcontents. As was previously stated, the administration was originally in the hands of Prince Bismarck, the first fundamental laws regulating the conditions of Government being voted by the Reichstag in June 1871, June 1872, and June 1873. The German Chancellor at first placed his kinsman, Bismarck-Bohlen, and afterwards a certain Dr. von Moeller, in charge of the immediate executive; concerning himself mainly with questions of policy and leaving matters of detail to his delegates. The first municipal councils elected under the German régime were altogether pro-French in their tendencies. One day M. Lauth, who was elected Mayor of Strasburg, remarked to the German Prefect, a man named Ernsthausen, that he hoped he would ultimately become French again. Ernsthausen naturally repeated those imprudent words to Moeller, who at once dismissed Lauth from his office and appointed Herr Bach, director of the German police, to discharge the mayoral duties. In September 1872 the Order of Freemasons was suppressed throughout the annexed territory, on the ground that it might favour intercourse and conspiracy with France. Moeller treated the inhabitants, not as equals nor even as vassals, but absolutely as serfs. When some people, imagining that a comparatively short sojourn in France would settle the question of their nationality, ventured to return to their native land, they were promptly arrested, cast into prison, and declared *nolens volens* to be German subjects. The whole judicial system was altered, German enactments replacing the French Code. However, though the German language at once became obligatory for all such public bodies as municipal councils, French was tolerated on the part of advocates in the law courts until 1888. On the

mark being substituted for the franc as the current standard, the price of virtually everything was increased by 20 per cent. The territory was handed over by France free of all indebtedness, but eight years later there was a debt equivalent to £2 per head of the population.

The Constitution of the German Empire was introduced into Alsace-Lorraine in January 1874, and the inhabitants were privileged to elect fifteen deputies to the Reichstag. Differences of opinion on the great question of the day then unfortunately declared themselves. Bishop Raess of Strasburg, whose bombarded cathedral had been repaired at a cost of over £20,000 derived from the French indemnity, virtually went over to the Germans, and his secession entailed that of a number of the Catholic clergy, whose influence over their parishioners was very great. Raess, in his zeal for his Church, unwittingly served Bismarck's purposes. The attitude assumed by him and his clergy prevented the Alsatian-Lorrainers from showing a united front at the first elections. Roman Catholic, or rather Ultramontane, influence triumphed in several electoral divisions, and the very first time the new deputies attended the Reichstag their differences became painfully manifest. The opponents of Bishop Raess submitted a motion to the effect that the Treaty of Frankfort having been concluded without the sanction of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, the opinions of the latter ought to be ascertained. The same deputies also moved that they should be allowed to address the assembly in the French tongue, as several of them knew no German. Bismarck replied that in the German Parliament he knew no other language than German, whereupon a Protestant

Alsatian deputy named Teutsch delivered a speech in that vernacular. He was, of course, violently interrupted when in regard to the annexation he accused Germany of having overstepped the limits by which a civilized nation should have been bound, and Forckenbeck, the President, called him to order. Nevertheless he succeeded in expressing his feelings of devotion to France. Bishop Raess spoke next, and referring to the treaty of Frankfort declared for himself and his Alsatian and Lorrainer coreligionists that they did not question the treaty's validity.

It was a pitiful exhibition. The real motive of the Bishop's unpatriotic attitude must be sought in the position of the Papacy at that time. It had lost its territorial sovereignty by the Italian occupation of Rome, and the zealots of the Roman Catholic world were in a great state of indignation. The French Clericalists wished to force France to make war on Italy in order to restore the Temporal Power. There was also unrest on this question in Catholic parts of Germany, whilst the Protestants there denounced many Catholic institutions and religious orders for their subserviency to the Pope, who, in an allocution to the College of Cardinals in 1872, had personally charged the Emperor and his Government with "savage persecutions and secret machinations against the Church." All this led up to the Falk laws and the great *Kulturkampf* between the Vatican and the German Chancellor; and Raess, who was a prelate of an extremely Ultramontane type, showed far more concern about the interests of his Church than about those of his native land. In fact it is not too much to say that he sacrificed the interests of Alsace-Lorraine in order that he might the more easily join hands with the German Clericalists. The

Bishop, however, did not have everything his own way. On the day after his declaration respecting the Frankfort treaty, a Catholic, though not an Ultramontane, deputy of the annexed provinces, named Pouget, who had been unable to attend the first debate, rose in the Reichstag and said: "I am told that in recognizing the validity of the Treaty of Frankfort, Bishop Raess yesterday took upon himself to speak in the name of his coreligionists of Alsace and Lorraine. If he really did so I am constrained to say that the Bishop spoke in his own name, and not in that of other Roman Catholic deputies for Alsace-Lorraine." The Bishop was greatly mortified by that well-deserved rebuke.

At that period the Reichstag debates respecting the annexed provinces were often full of interest. The motions which the Alsatian and Lorrainer deputies submitted were invariably rejected, securing as a rule only the support of the Danish, the Polish, and some of the Socialist representatives. Bismarck often intervened in the discussions, and, stung by the remarks of those who spoke for the populations brought under his domination, he did not hesitate to jeer and sneer at them. On one occasion, while referring to the Franco-German War, he reproached them for "having taken part in the infamous and sinful attack upon Germany." At another moment he congratulated them on having escaped from French rule and from "the agreeable prospect of taking voyages to the penal settlements of Lambessa and New Caledonia." He also remarked that as the Alsatians had always supplied the French army with a disproportionately large quota of soldiers and non-commissioned officers, it followed that in the many wars between the two countries the Germans had

been obliged to fight them as well as the other subjects of the Paris Government. "But," he added, "we are now glad to have these good soldiers on our side, and we shall certainly do all in our power to keep them there." At another time, in a debate on the endowment of the University of Strasburg (November 1874) the Chancellor expressed himself as follows:

The question before us concerns the interests of the Empire. It is not a question of Alsace-Lorraine. The university is to serve Imperial purposes. In the well-fought war, in which we had to defend our existence, we conquered the provinces for the Empire. It was not for the interests of Alsace-Lorraine that our soldiers shed their blood. We take our stand upon the interests of the Empire and the Imperial policy. Upon those grounds Alsace-Lorraine was annexed, and not for the sake of Alsace-Lorraine's ecclesiastical interests.* In the Empire we act from other motives than those of the gentlemen whose past would lead them back to Paris and whose present conducts them to Rome. We have to think of the Empire. . . . My first views respecting an Alsace-Lorraine parliament were too sanguine. . . . They have been modified by what I have seen of the attitude of the Alsatian-Lorrainer deputies here. Such a parliament would lead to constant agitation and perhaps endanger the maintenance of peace.

Did ever statesman acknowledge more candidly, more bluntly, more brutally, that he did not care a rap for the interests or aspirations of those whom he had enthralled?

The representative institutions which were afterwards set up in the annexed provinces were mere shams and mockeries—destitute of all authority. Nothing approaching the real nature of a Parliament existed before the Constitution granted in 1911, and I will presently explain how extremely limited were the powers which that Constitution conferred on the Alsatians and Lorrainers. Bismarck, in the speech which I have just quoted, referred to the maintenance of peace. This was often endangered during ensuing

* The reference to "ecclesiastical interests," and the ensuing sentence also, were thrusts at Bishop Raess. The latter, by the way, was opposed to the university, fearing that by the instruction imparted at it many sheep might escape from his fold. He at least wished to prevent a large endowment.

years. For a long time the spirit of *revanche* was undoubtedly strong in France, but on various occasions it was not this but the German Chancellor's provocative policy and the agitations engineered in Germany by his reptile Press that seemed likely to bring about another war. Whilst the Ultramontane agitation in France in favour of the restoration of the Temporal Power was certainly of a nature to lead to hostilities against Italy, and through Italy against the German Empire, the war scare of 1875 was absolutely Bismarck's work. He was amazed at the rapid recovery of France from her disasters, and fearing lest, in time, she should endeavour to win back Alsace-Lorraine, he resolved to crush her yet once more.

He took as his pretext the reorganization of the French army, which included the division of each infantry regiment into four instead of three battalions. As a matter of fact there was no increase in the effective beyond the appointment of such regimental officers as were necessary for an additional battalion. The total strength of each regiment remained the same as before. But Bismarck and Moltke professed to be much alarmed and began to prepare for another war, after which, anticipating "victory as usual," they intended to demand a further cession of territory (notably Belfort) and an indemnity of 400 millions sterling. The plot fortunately came to the knowledge of Marshal MacMahon's Government, and General Le Flô, then French Ambassador at Petrograd, laid everything before the Russian Emperor, Alexander II. At the same time M. Gavard, *chargé d'affaires* in London, submitted the facts to our Foreign Secretary, the Lord Derby of those days. In the result, whatever pro-German proclivities then existed in Great Britain, Derby took up the French cause, and our Government

and that of Russia made it known that on France declaring her peaceful intentions they would conjointly interfere to prevent the contemplated war. This was Bismarck's first serious defeat in the sphere of foreign politics, and he revenged himself for it by precipitating the Russo-Turkish War, and by siding against Russia at the famous Congress of Berlin.

On the other hand, at a somewhat later period, the maintenance of peace certainly incurred some danger from the periodical demonstrations of the French League of Patriots, founded by the French Kipling, the soldier-poet, Paul Déroulède. This league was undoubtedly imbued with the *revanche* spirit, and acted at times in open defiance of Gambetta's wise advice on that subject: "Keep it always in mind, but never speak of it" (*Pensez y toujours, mais n'en parlez jamais*). When one recalls, however, the manner in which Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France, and the many episodes of the time when it was French territory, one can well understand not only the memory of the loss surviving, but also the difficulty of restraining oneself from speaking of it. It is related that after Stanley found Livingstone, the latter inquired what had happened in Europe of recent years. Stanley told him of the Franco-German War, the indemnity paid by France, and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. "Ah!" Livingstone replied, "France will soon cease mourning over the five milliards of money, but she will never forget those two provinces!"

In 1887, when General Boulanger was French Minister of War, a serious crisis in the relations of France and Germany occurred. Boulanger made various imprudent speeches and lent himself to some of the demonstrations of the League of Patriots.

Thereupon the German Press denounced him as a danger to peace, and the Imperial Government began to move troops hither and thither in Alsace-Lorraine, doing this with so much fuss and publicity that it seemed as if a direct warning to France were intended. The French Prime Minister was then M. René Goblet, a Radical politician, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was M. Léopold Flourens. Both were sincerely desirous of maintaining peace. Nevertheless there was a panic on the Paris Bourse and a very sharp drop in the quotations for Rentes. The Chambers voted considerable additional credits for the army and the navy, and Goblet refused to make a pacific declaration, a refusal which was perhaps a mistake on his part. However, he took up the position that his opinions were perfectly well known, and that no declaration was necessary. Yet at the same time he told Boulanger not to dispatch any additional troops to the frontier, as the general wished to do, by way of answering the German military movements in Alsace. Moreover, Ferdinand de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, went on a semi-official mission to Berlin, and the atmosphere appeared to clear. But a frontier incident fraught with serious possibilities suddenly occurred. The German authorities suspected a French commissary of police named Schnæbelé, attached to the railway station of Pagny-sur-Moselle, of intercourse with some Lorrainer malcontents, and resolved to arrest him should he ever cross the frontier. He did so in response to a request from a German police official named Gautsch, who pretended that he wished to confer with him respecting some of the frontier regulations. Nevertheless, on April 20, 1887, Schnæbelé was arrested and conveyed to Metz.

As a result of this German act of provocation the

question of war or peace came to the front once more. Boulanger and some of his colleagues wished to demand an apology in a dispatch tantamount to an ultimatum. But M. Flourens, like a true diplomatist, scouted the suggestion, holding that Schnæbelé's arrest under such circumstances could not possibly be maintained by any known principle of law. In spite of this, Boulanger, swayed by personal ambition or incited by enthusiastic and unthinking firebrands, tried to precipitate events by sending as secretly as possible, and in defiance of Goblet's instructions, a number of troops towards the frontier. Nor was that all, for he also wrote to the Tsar, then Alexander III, or to his War Minister, soliciting Russian help. No sooner had he done so than he boasted of his letter, and on the matter becoming known to M. Flourens the missive was intercepted. Further, as it seemed probable that the affair would leak out, Flourens hastened to acquaint the German ambassador in France with all the facts, pointing out that Boulanger alone was responsible, and virtually throwing him over. Finally, Police Commissary Schnæbelé was released, Bismarck stating to M. Herbette, French ambassador at Berlin, that the arrest had been justified by the proofs he held of Schnæbelé's connivance with an Alsatian "traitor," but that as he had ventured on German soil at the invitation of a German official, that invitation was equivalent to a safe-conduct and would be respected. In this wise was war between France and Germany averted. Whether Schnæbelé actually engaged in any plotting is a moot point. One cannot take Bismarck's word on such a matter. It is a fact, however, that at the time in question, as during most other periods, there was considerable unrest in Alsace-Lorraine. A few months after the Schnæbelé affair

eight Alsatians were tried at Leipzig for high treason. The chief charge against them was that in order to facilitate the reunion of Alsace-Lorraine with France, they had secretly become members of Déroulède's League of Patriots. Some were acquitted, but one was sentenced to two, another to five, and another to six years' imprisonment. A little later another war scare, caused by a German forest-keeper shooting a French sportsman dead, and wounding another one, in the Vosges, subsided on the German Government paying some compensation. At a much later date trouble, even affrays, occurred at Nancy owing to the arrogance of some of the Germans settled in that town. From time to time, indeed, little "incidents" arose which might have led to hostilities but which were adjusted. During the years more immediately preceding the Great War the chief dangers to the maintenance of peace between France and Germany arose in connexion with the Dreyfus case, the German interference in the question of Morocco, the Congo and Cameroons frontiers, and, incidentally, the Bagdad railway. Into those matters it is unnecessary to enter here, for they had no connexion with the question of Alsace-Lorraine.

Under the German rule there have been frequent scandals in the annexed provinces. Oppression, corruption, and debauchery have gone hand in hand among the official and military classes. Many instances are mentioned in two books—"Les Scandales allemandes en Alsace-Lorraine" (1906) and "Les Coulisses de l'Alsace-Lorraine" (1908)—written by a former police commissary in the German service named Stéphany. Although the evidence of an official who has parted from his masters may be open to some suspicion, such precise and explicit particulars

are given in Stéphany's writings that, even if they be somewhat highly coloured, they convey an impression that there must be a great amount of absolute truth in what he says—the more so as many incidents mentioned by him are of a similar nature to others known to have occurred in Germany. Stéphany's instances of debauchery among the military caste, from such petty "royalties" as the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe down to junior lieutenants, correspond with certain episodes of the present war.

Let me now recapitulate the chief features of the Zabern or Saverne affair which in 1913 attracted attention throughout the world. The town of Saverne was garrisoned by two battalions of the 91st Infantry Regiment, commanded by Colonel von Reuter, and including among its officers a certain Lieutenant Forstner, who scornfully applied the name of "Wackes" or "Square-heads" to the Alsatian recruits under him. In an address which he delivered to them whilst warning them against deserting and joining the French Foreign Legion, he also spoke very offensively about the French, with whom many of the recruits had strong sympathies. For calling his men by the opprobrious name of "Wackes," Fortsner underwent some slight punishment, but the affair became generally known, and created much excitement throughout the provinces. On some demonstrations ensuing, Colonel von Reuter requested the head of the local administration, an Alsatian named Mahler, to restore order, and on Mahler declaring that he knew of no reason for interfering with law-abiding people, Reuter himself took action. On November 29 a crowd having assembled before the barracks—the former palace of the Rohan Cardinals—he ordered a certain Lieutenant Schad, who that day commanded

the Guard, to disperse the assemblage. Schad's men did so with great brutality, at the same time arresting several people, among whom were some legal officials who had just left the court-house. These were released, but the others were detained in the cellars of the barracks. The public excitement increased, disaffection becoming so manifest that the position was submitted to the Emperor, who was then staying at Donauschingen with Prince von Fürstenberg. In the result, the Alsatian Statthalter or Viceroy, Count von Wedel, and his Secretary of State and Minister of the Interior, Von Zorn-Bulach, a member of an Alsatian family which had "ratted" to Germany, tendered their resignations, feeling that the military party, by overriding the civil authorities, was responsible for the serious trouble which had arisen in many parts of the provinces. The Kaiser, however, induced them to withdraw their resignations; a general was sent to Saverne to inquire into what had occurred there, and Reuter and Schad were afterwards court-martialled for ordering troops to move against the civilian population. They were ultimately acquitted on the ground that they had kept within the provisions of a Prussian law of 1820, which empowered the military authorities to act if the civil administration should neglect to enforce order.

Meantime, however, another incident had occurred. In the course of some field service near Saverne, Lieutenant Forstner, while passing through a village, cut down a lame shoemaker with whom he had a brief altercation. This act of brutality aroused fresh resentment. Forstner was certainly tried for hitting and wounding a civilian, but although he was at first sentenced to a year's imprisonment, he secured an acquittal on appealing to a higher jurisdiction, the

pretext being that he had acted in "supposed self-defence"—a perfectly ridiculous plea in the circumstances, for the injured shoemaker was as inoffensive as he was lame. Debates ensued in the Reichstag, where Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor, declared that the regiment commanded by Reuter had been removed from Saverne and that the law of 1820 had been abolished for Alsace-Lorraine. Nevertheless, the Reichstag passed a vote of censure by no fewer than 293 to 54 votes—taking that course as it rightly apprehended that the marked disaffection in the provinces could only be quieted by reproving the military element, to whose overbearing attitude, not only at Saverne but in many other localities also, the popular resentment was largely due. The German Socialists afterwards took up some of the grievances of the Alsatians and Lorrainers, but on a motion to reduce the Chancellor's salary they naturally incurred defeat. However, Herren Wedel and Zorn-Bulach again resigned their offices and were replaced, the former as Statthalter by Dr. von Dallwitz, and the second as Secretary of State and Minister of the Interior by Count von Rœdern.

By a constitution which came into force in 1911 Alsace-Lorraine was granted the privilege of sending three representatives to the German Federal Council. Sovereign rights remained vested in the Emperor, who was to appoint and recall, at pleasure, a Statthalter or Viceroy. All local laws were to emanate from the Crown exclusively, but were to secure the assent of a Diet or Landtag formed of two chambers. The Upper Chamber was to be composed of five representatives of the religious communities, the presiding judge of the Supreme Court of Colmar, a representative of Strasburg University, four members

representing the towns of Metz, Strasburg, Colmar, and Mulhouse, various representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Agricultural Councils, etc., but, in addition to the foregoing, and in order to ensure a permanent government majority, a score of members were to be nominated by the Kaiser. One and all were to retain their positions for five years. The Lower Chamber was to be elected by direct suffrage, and on first assembling in 1911 it comprised twenty members of the Roman Catholic party, thirteen particularist Lorrainers, ten Liberal Democrats, and eleven Socialists. In the *Staatshandbuch* for 1914 I find a dozen French names among the members of these Chambers. For instance, the second Vice-President of the upper one was Dr. Grégoire, and the first Vice-President of the lower one, M. Labroise. But a good many members with Germanic names were undoubtedly sound patriots. As the initiative of law-making rested with the Statthalter, acting for the Emperor, the powers of the so-called Landtag of Alsace-Lorraine were necessarily very limited, and it is quite impossible to describe such a régime as one of self-government.

The administration set up by the new Constitution comprised four principal departments, the Interior; Justice and Religion; Finance, Commerce, and Imperial Domains; and Agriculture and Labour. In 1914 the Kaiserlicher Statthalter was still Dr. von Dallwitz,* and Count von Rœdern was Secretary of State and Minister of the Interior. During the year ending March 31, 1917, the total revenue of the

* Before him the successive Governors of Alsace-Lorraine were Field-Marshal von Manteuffel (October 1879), Prince Clovis von Hohenlohe (1885), Prince von Hohenlohe-Langenburg (October 1894), and the Count von Wedel mentioned in connexion with the Saverne affair.

provinces was £4,126,615. At the last census (1910) the population included 1,428,343 Catholics, 408,274 Protestants, 3868 members of other Christian denominations, and 30,483 Jews. When the present Great War began the garrison was composed of over 80,000 men. It included Badeners, Saxons, Silesians, and Alsatian detachments of the 14th and 15th Army Corps, under General von Deimling, whose chief of staff was Count von Waldersee. At Metz there was the 16th Army Corps under General von Mudra, and there were also some men of the 21st Corps at Sarrebruck and Sarrebourg. Apart from the last named, the garrison included nine brigades of infantry, five brigades of cavalry, and seven artillery regiments. Thus a strong force (double that of 1880) was kept in the provinces, far less from any fear of sudden French aggression than in order to impose the German will on a people which obeyed it with regret.

A mock constitution and a formidable garrison, such before this war was the final German answer to all the bitter discontent so long prevailing in Alsace-Lorraine. M. Roudolphi, in a letter to which I have directed attention,* rightly stated that "in 1887, after sixteen years of the new régime, the progress of the conquerors having been absolutely negative, a reign of terror began, which has not its equal in the annals of the nineteenth century. Every society, artistic, sporting, and even scientific, suspected of French leanings was dissolved, prosecutions for high treason and similar offences were as numerous as the pebbles on the shore, and communication with France was rendered practically impossible. This era, the so-called 'stillness of the dead,' when every voice

* See foot-note on p. 273, *ante*.

was silenced, and every movement watched by the secret police, lasted for fifteen long years."

I will add little to this long narrative in which I have endeavoured to give a sketch of many topographical, historical, racial, linguistic, and other matters pertaining to Alsace-Lorraine. The country is virtually *terra incognita* to most British readers, and I shall feel amply rewarded for my labours if I succeed in making more than its name known to them. During the present war the French have won back a small portion of the annexed land by force of arms, but it must be restored to them in its entirety. That is the desire of virtually all the inhabitants of the old stock, and of their kith and kin who live far away in exile. There can be no compromise with Germany on this question. France will accept none. Unhappily a small number of people among us still seem desirous of accepting an inconclusive peace. Selfishly thinking only of themselves, they are ready to sacrifice the highest interests of posterity, and those, also, of our comrades in arms. There are some people who, whilst admitting that the German occupation of Belgium is a pistol pointed at the head of Britain, fail, apparently, to realize that the German occupation of Alsace-Lorraine has been a pistol pointed at the head of France for nearly half a century. Further, there are even those—it cannot be gainsaid—who would callously leave France in the lurch with respect to her most important, her paramount claim. This must not be. Should Great Britain desert her noble and valiant ally the direst consequences would follow. I, for one, am fully convinced that she will never do so, but will continue fighting until Alsace-Lorraine, like other lands, shall have been finally and fully delivered from the odious yoke of the modern Hun.

APPENDIX A

PLACE-NAMES DIFFERING IN FRENCH AND GERMAN

BELOW will be found two lists of Alsatian and Lorrainer place-names which have been changed since the annexation in 1871. In some instances the alterations have been slight, but in some others the difference is great. The French terminals *villé* and *willer* (from the Latin *villa* and *villare*) have become *weiler* in German. *Bourg* also has, not unnaturally, been changed to *burg*. It is not claimed that the following lists are complete, nevertheless they may prove useful for the identification of some of the localities mentioned. In the first list the French and in the second the German names are given in the first column alphabetically, their equivalents appearing in the second one.

I

French	*German*
Alsace	Elsass
Aubure	Altweier
Ban de la Roche	Steinthal
Belmagny	Bernetzweiler
Bischwiller	Bitschweiler
Bitche	Bitsch
Bonhomme, Le	Diedolshausen
Boulay	Bolchen
Bouxwiller	Buchsweiler
Broque, La	Vorbrück
Cernay	Sennheim
Château-Salins	Salzburg
Châtenois	Kestenholz
Chavannes-sur-l'Etang	Schaffnat-am-Weiher
Courtavon	Ottendorf
Dabo	Dagsburg
Eteimbes	Welschensteinbach
Faulquemont	Falkenberg

French	*German*
Fenestrange	Finstingen
Ferrette	Pfirt
Fouday	Urbach
Guebwiller	Gebweiler
Haguenau	Hagenau
Huningue	Huningen
Levoncourt	Luffendorf
Liepvre and Lièvre	Leberau
Longueville	Longeville
Lorquin	Lorchingen
Lorraine	Lothringen
Main-du-Prince, La	Herzogshand
Marmoutier	Maursmünster
Massevaux	Masmünster
Montreux	Münsterol
Mulhouse	Mülhausen
Neubois	Gereuth
Neuf-Brisach	Neu Breisach
Obernai	Oberehnheim
Orbey	Urbeis
Petite-Pierre, La	Lützelstein
Phalsbourg	Pfalzburg
Porcelette	Porselt
Poultroie, La	Schmerlach
Ribeaupierre	Rappoltstein
Ribeauvillé	Rappoltsweiler *
Riquewihr	Reichenweier
Romagny	Willern
Rouffach	Rufach and Ruffach
Saint-Hippolyte	Sankt Pilt
Saint-Louis	Sankt Ludwig
Sainte-Croix-aux-Mines	Sankt Kreuz im Leberthal
Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines	Markirch
Sainte-Odile	Odilienberg
Sarralbe	Saaralben
Sarreguemines	Saargemünd
Sarre, the	Saar
Saverne	Zabern
Schlestadt	Schlettstadt
Soultz-les-Bains	Sulzbad
Soultz-sous-Forêts	Sulz-unterm-Walde
Thionville	Diedenhofen

* Rapperschweir in the local dialect.

French	*German*
Trois-Fontaines	Dreibrunnen
Val-de-Villé	Weilerthal
Valdieu	Gottesthal
Vancelle, La	Wanzel
Villé	Weiler
Vosges, the	Wasigen and Wasgenwald
Wasselonne	Wasselnheim
Wesserling	Hüsseren
Wihr-au-Val	Weier im Thal
Wissembourg	Weissenburg
Xouaxange	Schweizingen

II

German	*French*
Altweier	Aubure
Bernetzweiler	Belmagny
Bitsch	Bitche
Bitschweiler	Bischwiller
Bolchen	Boulay
Buchsweiler	Bouxwiller
Dagsburg	Dabo
Diedenhofen	Thionville
Diedolshausen	Le Bonhomme
Dreibrunnen	Trois-Fontaines
Elsass	Alsace
Falkenberg	Faulquemont
Finstingen	Fenestrange
Gebweiler	Guebwiller
Gereuth	Neubois
Gottesthal	Valdieu
Hagenau	Haguenau
Herzogshand	La Main-du-Prince
Huningen	Huningue
Hüsseren	Wesserling
Kestenholz	Châtenois
Leberau	Liepvre and Lièvre
Lorchingen	Lorquin
Lothringen	Lorraine
Luffendorf	Levoncourt
Lützelstein	La Petite-Pierre
Markirch	Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines

German	*French*
Masmünster	Massevaux
Maursmünster	Marmoutier
Mülhausen	Mulhouse
Münsterol	Montreux
Neu Breisach	Neuf-Brisach
Oberenheim	Obernai
Odilienberg	Sainte-Odile
Ottendorf	Courtavon
Pfalzburg	Phalsbourg
Pfirt	Ferrette
Porselt	Porcelette
Rappoltstein	Ribeaupierre
Rappoltsweiler	Ribeauvillé
Reichenweier	Riquewihr
Rufach and Ruffach	Rouffach
Saar	Sarre
Saargemünd	Sarreguemines
Salzburg	Château-Salins
Sankt Kreuz im Leberthal	Sainte-Croix-aux-Mines
Sankt Ludwig	Saint-Louis
Sankt Pilt	Saint-Hippolyte
Schaffnat-am-Weiher	Chavannes-sur-l'Etang
Schlettstadt	Schlestadt
Schmerlach	La Poultroie
Schweizingen	Xouaxange
Sennheim	Cernay
Steinthal	Ban de la Roche
Sulzbad	Soultz-les-Bains
Sulz-unterm-Walde	Soultz-sous-Forêts
Urbach	Fouday
Urbeis	Orbey
Vorbrück	La Broque
Wanzel	Varicelle
Wasigen and Wasgenwald	Vosges, the
Wasselnheim	Wasselonne
Weier im Thal	Wihr-au-Val
Weilerthal	Val-de-Villé
Weissenburg	Wissembourg
Welschensteinbach	Eteimbes
Willern	Romagny
Zabern	Saverne

APPENDIX B

STRASBURG UNITED TO FRANCE

Articles proposed by the Prætors, Consuls, and Magistrate of the Town of Strasburg, the 30th September, 1681.*

We, François Michel de [*sic*] Tellier, Marquis of Louvois, Secretary of State and of his Majesty's Commandments, and Joseph de Ponts, Baron of Montclar, Lieutenant-General in the Armies of the King, commanding for his Majesty in Alsace, by virtue of the power conferred upon us by his Majesty to receive the town of Strasburg into obedience under him, have set down the annotations [*apostilles*] inscribed below, whereof we promise to supply his Majesty's Ratification, and to hand it to the Magistrate of Strasburg, between now and ten days' time.

I.—The town of Strasburg, following the example of Mr. [*sic*] the Bishop of Strasburg, the Count of Hanau, the Lord of Fleckenstein, and the nobility of Lower Alsace, recognizes his Most Christian Majesty as its Sovereign Lord and Protector.

Annotation.—The King receives the town and all its dependencies under his Royal protection.

II.—His Majesty shall confirm all the ancient privileges, rights, statutes, and customs of the town of Strasburg, ecclesiastical as well as political, conformably with the Treaty of Peace of Westphalia, confirmed by that of Nimeguen.

Annotation.—Granted.

III.—His Majesty shall allow the free exercise of Religion, as has been the case from the year 1624 until now, with possession of all churches and schools, and will not allow anybody whatsoever to raise any pretensions either to ecclesiastical property or to any foundations or convents—that is to say, the Abbey of Saint-Etienne, the Chapter of Saint-Thomas, Saint-Marc, Saint-Guillaume, the Tous-Saints, and all others included or not

* "Articles proposez par les Préteurs, Consuls et Magistrat de la Ville de Strasbourg, le 30 Septembre, 1681." A Paris, au Bureau d'Adresse, aux Galeries du Louvre. MDCLXXXI. Avec Privilège du Roy.

included [within the town ?], but shall for all time preserve them to the town and its inhabitants.

Annotation.—Granted in respect to the enjoyment of all that pertains to ecclesiastical property, in accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Münster, with this reserve, that the fabric of the Church of Our Lady, formerly called the Dom (cathedral), shall be restored to the Catholics; notwithstanding which his Majesty approves that they [the Protestants] shall make use of the bells of the said church for all purposes heretofore customary, except only that of ringing them to prayers.

IV.—His Majesty shall leave the Magistrature in its present state, with all its rights, including the free election of its colleges, namely, that of the Thirteen, that of the Fifteen, and that of the Twenty-One, together with the Large and Small Senates, the Echevins, the officers of the town and the Chancellery, the ecclesiastical convents, the University with all its doctors, professors, and students of whatever category they be, the [trade or professional] college, classifications, and masterships all as they are now, together with the [present] Civil and Criminal Jurisdictions.

Annotation.—Granted, with the reserve that in all lawsuits in which the capital amount [sued for] shall exceed one thousand *livres* of France [*cir.* £40] an appeal to the Council of Brisach shall be allowed, without, however, the appeal suspending the execution of the judgment which may have been delivered by the Magistrate [of Strasburg] should no sum exceeding two thousand *livres* of France [*cir.* £80] be in question.

V.—His Majesty also grants to the town that all its revenues, taxes, [land] tolls, bridge-tolls, commercial rights, and customs [*douane*] shall be preserved to it, with all liberty to enjoy the same as heretofore, together with the free disposal of the Pfenningthurn and the Mint, and the magazines [stores] of cannon, munitions, and weapons, both those which are in the Arsenal and those which are on the ramparts and in the houses of burgesses, together with the magazines [stores] of grain, timber, coal, tallow, and all others, the bells [of the town], and also the Archives with the documents and papers of whatever nature they be.

Annotation.—Granted, with the reserve that the cannon, munitions of war, and arms in the public stores shall be placed in the power of his Majesty's officers, and as regards the weapons belonging to private people, that they shall be deposited at the town hall in a room whereof the Magistrate shall keep the key.

VI.—All the burgesses shall remain exempt from all taxes and other payments. His Majesty shall leave all imposts, ordinary or extraordinary, to the town for its maintenance.

Annotation.—Granted.

VII.—His Majesty shall leave to the town and citizens of Strasburg the free enjoyment of the bridge over the Rhine and of all the towns, *bourgs*, villages, and lands that belong to them, and will graciously grant the town Letters of Respite against all creditors, whether in the Empire or elsewhere.

Annotation.—Granted.

VIII.—His Majesty also grants an Amnesty for all the past, both to public and to private persons without any exception, and will include in it the Prince Palatine de Veldence [*sic*], the Count of Nassau, the Resident of his Imperial Majesty, all the Hostels [*sic*], the Bruderhoff, with their officers, houses, and appurtenances.

Annotation.—Granted.

IX.—It shall be allowable for the town to erect barracks to lodge the troops which may be in garrison.

Annotation.—Granted.

X.—The King's troops shall enter the town to-day, September 30, 1681, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Done at Illkirch, this 10 September 1681.

Signed: De Louvois,
Joseph de Ponts, Baron de Montclar.

Jean George de Zedlitz, Esquire and Prætor—Dominique Dietrich—Johann Leonard Froreisen—Johann Philippe Schmidt—Daniel Richshoffer—Jonas Storr—J. Joachim Franz—Christoffle Günzer.

Various points arising out of the above convention have been discussed in an earlier part of this volume (pp. 96 to 98, *ante*), and little need be added here. The description of Louvois in the preamble as *de* Tellier is perhaps merely a slip. His real patronymic was *Le* Tellier, but he may have substituted *de* for *le*, or a secretary may have done so on the ground that *de* was the customary particle among members of the nobility. The German Count of Hanau and the Lord of Fleckenstein referred to in Clause I probably held fiefs in Alsace. The Pfenningthurn which is mentioned in Clause V may possibly have been some

tower where certain dues or tolls were levied. Some parts of Clause VIII are rather obscure. The "Prince Palatine de Veldence" may have been the Palatine of the Rhine of that period, but the words *de Veldence* are puzzling. There is, however, a small place called Veldenz, near Berncastel in the Moselle wine country, and some Palatine may have been known by the name of the Veldenz lordship. According to "L'Art de vérifier les Dates" there certainly was an independent House of Veldenz in early times. The Count of Nassau who is mentioned may well have been William of Orange, afterwards our William III. He was a confirmed enemy of Louis XIV, and may have urged Strasburg to maintain its independence and even have promised assistance to that effect. The Bruderhoff was possibly an association. It is more difficult to suggest an explanation of the expression "all the Hostels." Hostels, however, must have signified mansions (*hôtels*), not asylums or inns, and the reference was possibly to all the nobles dwelling in abodes of this description. Clause IX may be explained by the town's desire to prevent the garrison from being billeted on the inhabitants. In Clause X will be found the words, "to-day, September 30," whereas immediately afterwards one reads, "Done at Illkirch this 10 September." This seeming contradiction may be accounted for by assuming that the date on which the French troops were to enter Strasburg was left blank when the Proposals were originally drafted, and inserted in the document when everything had been finally agreed upon.

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Note. In the following references the annexed territory of Alsace-Lorraine is generally designated by the initials A.-L. Place-names are usually given in their French forms, as in the body of the book, but the German forms will be found in Appendix A. Gallo-Roman names of localities, which changed at different periods (for instance, Brigamagus became Brocomagus) are not indexed, but many of them will be found in chapter vii, where place-names are discussed.

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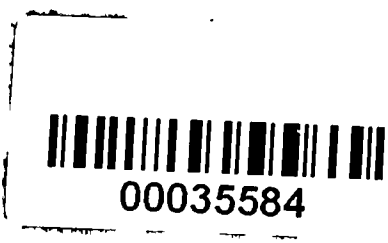
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